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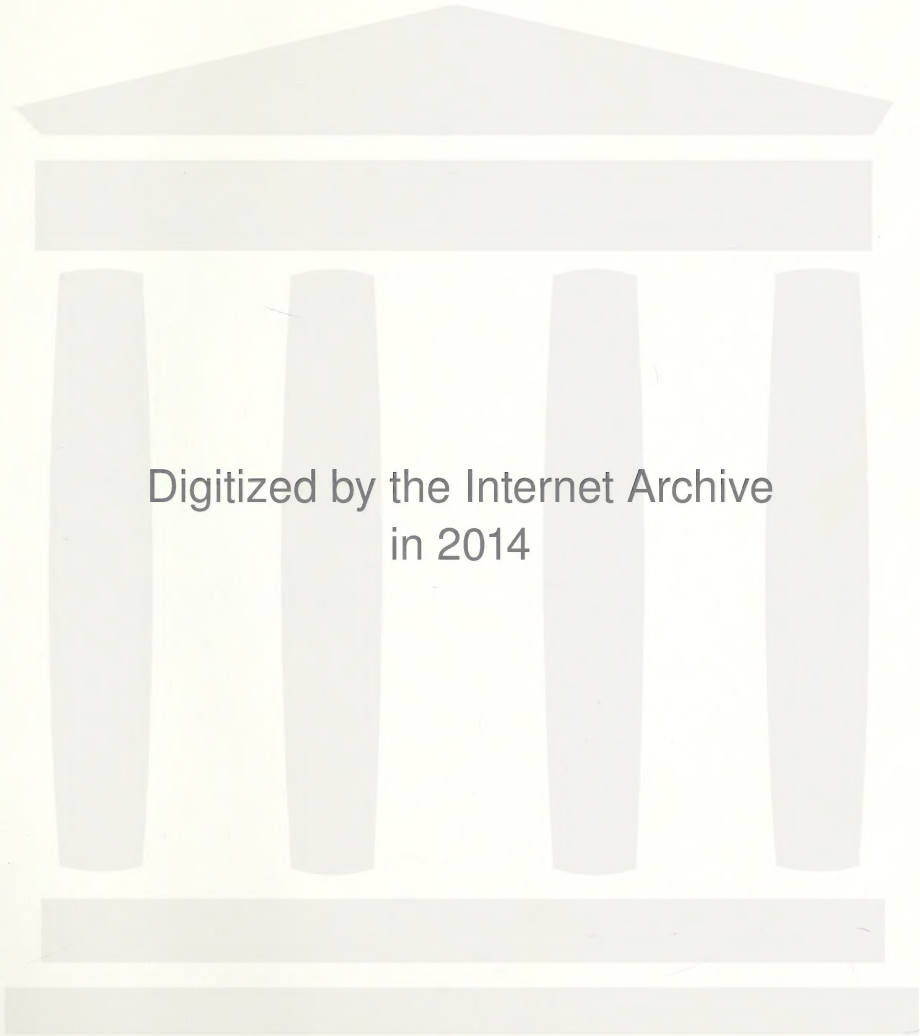

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PRINTED CALENDARS.

THE Editors of Calendars published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls are requested to confine any Prefatory Remarks they may consider necessary to prefix to their Volumes to an explanation of the Papers therein contained.

(Signed) ROMILLY.

13th June 1867.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE.

1520—1526.

CALENDAR

OF

STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS,

RELATING TO ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

EXISTING IN THE ARCHIVES AND COLLECTIONS OF

VENICE, Italy

AND IN OTHER LIBRARIES OF

NORTHERN ITALY.

VOL. III. V. 3, pt. 1

1520—1526.

EDITED BY

RAWDON BROWN.

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PREFACE.

THE last entry in the second volume of the Venetian Calendar recorded an English prophecy concerning Charles the Fifth.[1] It was derived from Sanuto's Diaries, which also supply this continuation of the work with more minute details of the Emperor's first visit to England, than can be found in any other narrative hitherto published.

The first volume of the Calendar gave an account of the English adventures of Philip the Handsome and Queen Juana, in 1506, as described in the letters of Vincenzo Querini. The Venetian correspondence preserved by Sanuto acquaints us most accurately with the reception given to their son by Henry VIII. in 1520.

In alluding to this event the chronicler Hall writes, that amongst the personages of the Emperor's retinue "one ladie as chief to be noted was the princes Avinion."[2]

From Sanuto we learn that this "princes Avinion" was no other than Princess or Queen of Aragon. Germaine de Foix (the sister of Gaston) became the wife of Ferdinand the Catholic King of Aragon in 1505, and after his death, though the fact is disputed by Varillas and others,

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[1] As Sanuto's original Diaries were restored to Venice last October, I caused the prophecy (which is in Sanuto's own hand) to be photographed, and one of the specimens thus obtained may be seen in the Library of the Record Office.

[2] P. 604, edition London, 1809.

she married John of Brandenburg, the younger brother of Casimir. The marriage took place at Barcelona early in March 1519, and after the death of John of Brandenburg, which occurred in Spain in the summer of 1525, Germaine chose for her third husband the Duke of Calabria.

The marriage was consummated at Seville in 1526, as stated by the author of the "Cortigiano," who remarks, "*s' el letto non sarà molto grande, nè l' uno nè l' altro "averà freddo.*"

When Germaine de Foix arrived in England she may perhaps have been fat, lame, and ugly, as asserted by Sanuto and Castiglione; but on a variety of accounts she was one of the most remarkable of royal and state personages of the period. Her reception at Canterbury by Mary Tudor, the loss of whose hand had so much irritated the youthful Charles of Burgundy in his 15th year,[1] will have enabled the two ex-queens to compare notes about the courtship of grandfather and grandson; whilst the young Emperor, calling to mind the changes effected within the last five years, on finding himself in the presence of Mary Tudor, and pondering the preference given by her, first to Louis XII., and then to Charles Brandon, will perhaps no longer have regretted the disappointment experienced by him in 1514.

From Canterbury and Charles V. we pass to the "Field of Cloth of Gold." The pageants on that occasion are minutely detailed by various Italian eye-witnesses, and a compliment paid by one of them to the temporary palace at Guisnes is especially worthy of notice, as it places the builders of England on a par with Leonardo da Vinci, who died at Fontainebleau in May 1519.

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[1] See Venetian Calendar, vol. ii. p. 201.

From Mr. Brewer's Calendar (vol. ii. part ii. p. 1443) it appears that in August 1509 one William Vertu was in the service of Henry VIII.; and from the Camden Society Publications[1] we learn that Sir Edward Belknap was charged with the construction of the palace at Guisnes, and other buildings at the Field of Cloth of Gold, and that he or his colleague Sir Nicholas Vaux wrote to Cardinal Wolsey requesting that "Vertue the Kinge's "maister mason may be sent over." So long as our own countrymen alone eulogized the King's house at Guisnes, much might be ascribed to national vanity; but when an Italian declares it worthy of the greatest and most universal artist of the age, it would be desirable to ascertain what degree of credit is due to the Royal Commissioners, Sir Nicholas Vaux, Sir Edward Belknap, and Sir William Sands, and how far they were indebted for their success to the working man, the King's master mason, William Vertue, whom we would fain claim for an Englishman, although the name seems to indicate a French origin.

After the interview of the "Field of Cloth of Gold," Henry VIII. held his second conference with the Emperor from the 10th to the 14th of July, at Calais, on which occasion a female artist in the service of the King presented the Emperor with his own portrait. She may have been an Englishwoman, as well skilled in painting as Vertue was in architecture. But I am inclined to believe that she was an Italian, named Alice Carmeliano, niece of Henry VIII.'s Latin secretary, a Milanese,[2] of which province Pietro Carmeliano was a native, and owned allegiance to Ludovic Sforza, Duke of Milan.[3]

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[1] "Rutland Papers," p. 55. "The Chronicle of Calais," p. 81.

[2] See "Trevelyan Papers," Camden Society Publication, pp. 144–148. 160, 161.

[3] See Calendar, vol. ii. p. 578.

The nephew of Catharine of Aragon was more popular with the English than his rival King Francis; and a remark made by Lord Leonard Grey on the return of the Court confirms the belief that the nobility of England were not brought over to the French interests by their recent intercourse with the chivalry of France. Both nations were jealous and suspicious of each other, as was shown by the new works undertaken at Calais and Ardres immediately after the interview; and in May 1521 the Venetian ambassador writes from Dijon that the Emperor's sole ally was the King of England. At the same period a demonstration was made in London against Luther, briefly described in the Cottonian MS. as the "Pope's "sentence against Martin Luther, published in London "on the 12th May 1521." The Venetian secretary who was in London at the time gives a much fuller account of the circumstance, adding that on the gates of St. Paul's Cardinal Wolsey then affixed two legatine bulls, above one of which was added in an unknown hand,

"Bulla Bullæ ambæ amicullæ."

The other was headed in like manner with the words,

"Araine [Arachne?] ante tubam."[1]

Wolsey, it appears, was not a little exasperated by these lampoons, and the insinuations conveyed by them. Though the hypothesis may seem startling to some, I am inclined to think that there is in these lines a tacit allusion to the King's early connexion with Anne Boleyn and to Wolsey's anxiety for the divorce. Be that as it may, Leo X. died on the 1st December 1521, and on the

[1] These words (like the prophecy) have been photographed from Sanuto's original autograph, and the fac-simile may be seen in the Library of the Record Office.

9th January 1522 Adrian Florent, a native of Utrecht, who assumed the title of Adrian VI., was elected as his successor. If any negotiations had already been in progress with Leo X. with a view of repudiating Catharine, they would now be rendered fruitless. The new Pope had been tutor to Charles of Burgundy, was a virtuous prelate and a staunch imperialist. His conscience and his politics alike forbad him to persecute the kinswoman of his pupil. Adrian died in September 1523, and was succeeded by Clement VII., whose equity and justice, for which contemporaneous biographers give him credit, were often disadvantageously counterbalanced by constitutional cowardice. The union between the Empire and England gave way to apprehensions caused by the victory of Pavia in 1525; and the sack of Rome, in 1527, converted these apprehensions into open hostility. At the close of the year, on the release of the Pope from Castle St. Angelo, we have documentary evidence of an official demand for the dissolution of the marriage.[1] We learn also from the Diaries of Sanuto that in December 1527 there arrived in London the Papal Nuncio Staphileo, of whom the Pope remarked at a later period, that "he it was who "had led the King of England this dance;" the sequel and close of which are too trite and notorious to need further comment. But the historian has yet much to learn concerning the King's matrimonial speculations during the seventeen years which preceded the sack of Rome.

At the commencement of the year following, 1521, in the conferences held beyond the Channel, there were reports of a league set on foot at Rome between Leo X., Henry

[1] "State Papers," vol. vii. pp. 29–36.

VIII., and Francis I.; whilst at Worms a Dominican preacher was expatiating on the necessity of opposing Martin Luther, and urging the Emperor to march into Italy. The English envoy Carew assured Francis that the Emperor had no such intention. But a rupture between the two powers was imminent. The proffered mediation of England seems to have been sincere; but every now and then suspicions arose of French intrigues in Scotland; and in Germany reports of the Emperor's Italian expedition continued, although the insurrections in Spain rendered it improbable. In the spring of 1521 the general topics were, the chance of war between Charles and Francis, and the successful attack on the Popedom by Martin Luther. At home, towards the end of March, we find Henry VIII. recommending his kinsman Reginald Pole to the Republic of Venice, as Pole intended to enter himself at the University of Padua; but after the arrest and execution of the young student's uncle, the King modified his recommendation, and gave the first signs of that jealousy which caused him to persecute Pole until the close of his reign.

The mediation of Henry VIII. for the purpose of preventing war between the Emperor and France, continued, and immediately after the execution of the Duke of Buckingham, of which event we have important details in this volume, Sir Richard Wyngfield arrived at Worms precisely three days before the death of the Imperial Prime Minister De Chièvres, who was succeeded by the Imperial Chancellor, the Piedmontese Gattinara. Whilst De Chièvres had favoured the French alliance, Gattinara openly proclaimed his intention of making war on France, and commenced his ministry by seizing on the Milanese and conferring it on Francesco Sforza. Henry

VIII. wished to pacify the two rivals; but his ideas of vassalage made him resent the rebellion of Robert de la Marck, who, at the instigation of Francis I., had taken up arms against his liege lord. Such was the assertion made by the English envoy Spinelli. Of his colleague, Sir Richard Wyngfield, Gasparo Contarini has furnished a variety of curious and interesting notices. To the facts already known in connexion with this able negotiator, I am now enabled to add the following particulars on the authority of Contarini. Sir Richard joined Sir Tommaso Spinelli at Worms on the 23rd May 1521; on the following 22nd June he left Brussels and visited England, returning to Brussels in the second week of July. At the close of that month he quitted Ghent to meet Wolsey at Calais; he accompanied the Cardinal to Bruges, and remained with the Emperor until the middle of January 1522. In May 1522 we again find him at the Imperial Court. At Antwerp he was employed in arranging the marriage of the Princess Mary with Charles V., whom he accompanied to England, and on the 24th May 1525, he again presented himself to the Emperor at Toledo, where he died almost immediately after. The speed with which Sir Richard Wyngfield performed his manifold missions, caused the Italians to pun upon his name, which they converted into "*Volante*," and the heralds of the same period, in allusion to the active services of the three brothers blazoned the heraldic shields of the Wyngfields with three wings, which are still borne by the family, of whom Lord Powerscourt is the present representative.

I have been led to say this much of the partial uses to which the despatches of Gasparo Contarini may be applied, with regard to biographical notices of English worthies. But they are valuable for other reasons. His

quick perceptions of individual character were surpassed by the soundness of his views as a statesman and politician. As many of the most important extracts in the present volume illustrating the foreign policy of England are derived from his despatches, some notice of their writer may not be unacceptable.

Gasparo Contarini, born October 16th 1483, was the son of a great trader in the Levant, who married Polissena Malipiero. His father Luigi designed him for a merchant; but perceiving that his son was of a studious disposition he entrusted the education of Gasparo to eminent scholars and professors at Venice, among others to the historian Sabellico, from whom he learnt Latin. Under Antonio Giustinian and Lorenzo Bragadin, Gasparo applied himself to logic. In 1501, at the age of 18, he was sent to the university of Padua, where he studied Greek under Musuro, and philosophy under the celebrated Pietro Pomponaccio, whose tenets were opposed by Gasparo Contarini in 1516, in an anonymous work, entitled "*De immortalitate animæ.*" The Dominican Francesco da Nardo was Contarini's professor of metaphysics. After his education was completed, we find him, in 1519, employed by the Republic as Proveditor in the Polesine, where he acted most ably as a land surveyor. He was subsequently bailiff and captain at Rovigo, and was sent into the territory of Bassano, where he displayed his knowledge of irrigation by constructing a water conduit for that province. Thence he passed to Padua, and his skill in hydraulics was again demonstrated by the dykes which he raised to prevent the inundation of the Adige.

Such were the studies and such the pursuits which prepared the nobility of Venice for diplomacy. On the

24th September the Senate appointed Gasparo ambassador to Charles V. In Flanders he made the acquaintance of Wolsey, of Sir Thomas More, of Pace and the Wyngfields. On the sands at Dover he received his first greeting from Henry VIII. In Spain he again fell in with Sir Richard Wyngfield, of whose death at Toledo he makes mention.

A fortnight after the death of Sir Richard Wyngfield, Gasparo Contarini took leave of the Emperor, and arrived at Venice. During his absence he had been elected sage for the main land, and senator and captain of Brescia, which last post he did not accept. In October 1527 he went as ambassador to the Duke of Ferrara, at whose court he met Sir Gregory Casal, who then exhibited the "large commission" (Preface, Vol. I., p. lxxxvi.) lately received at Amiens from Wolsey, and in accordance with which, Gasparo Contarini likewise persuaded the Duke to join the league against the Emperor.

The success of the joint negotiations of Contarini and Casal, and the necessity for keeping them secret, are recorded in the files of the Council of Ten.

At the commencement of 1528 Gasparo Contarini was appointed ambassador to Clement VII. immediately after the Pope's release from St. Angelo, and remained in this capacity at the Papal Court from May 1528 until December 1529. During that period he again met Sir Gregory Casal, and learnt from him many particulars about the divorce of Henry VIII. He also made the acquaintance of Gardyner and Bryan, and renewed that which he had formed in Flanders with Peter Vannes. When the Emperor entered Bologna on the 4th November 1529, Contarini went to meet him, and was most graciously received by his Majesty, who would by no means allow the ambassador to dismount.

On the 31st December 1529, the Republic of Venice accredited Contarini as ambassador to the Emperor for the second time, and on the 8th March 1530, he reported his proceedings from the spring of 1528. In 1530 Gasparo Contarini was sage of the Council, Chief of the Ten, and "*Riformatore*" or "*Superintendent*" of the University of Padua. The Republic was at length deprived of his valuable services by Paul III., who in March 1535, made this most able of the Signory's diplomatists a Cardinal of the Church of Rome. On the receipt of the news at Venice Luigi Mocenigo exclaimed, "These priests have robbed us of the best "nobleman in this city."

In 1536 Cardinal Contarini was appointed Bishop of Belluno; and in 1540 at the suit of Charles V., the Pope sent him as apostolic legate to the diet of Ratisbon. Desirous of reconciling the Catholics and Protestants, the Emperor ordered a book to be published containing the disputed points for discussion by both parties, and the Legate Contarini was appointed to decide the questions contained in one of the many works concerning "*The Form of Concord*," but this he declined to do, referring the settlement to the Pope or to the general council. Although accused of leaning too much to the opinions of the Reformers and imperilling the Papal authority, he justified himself so completely, that in 1542 Paul III. conferred on him the Legation of Bologna, and on the 7th August in that year he was accredited ambassador to the Emperor. He died the 24th of that month of inflammation, in the monastery outside Bologna, called Santa Maria del Monte. His remains were deposited in the church of St. Procolo, and finally, in December 1565, removed to the church of the Madonna dell' Orto at Venice, where in the Contarini chapel, his

bust, by the famous sculptor Vittoria, may yet be seen. The inscription follows :—

GASPARIS CONTARENI,
S. R. E. CARD.
OSSA
CVIVS ADMIRANDAM INTEGRITATEM,
DOCTRINAM, AC ELOQVENTIAM, IN
VTRAQ. REP. ET APVD SVMMOS REGES,
GESTA, ET SCRIPTA, TESTANTVR.
BONONIÆ LEGAT. PONTIF.
NATVRÆ CESSIT
M.D. XLII.
VIXIT ANNOS LIX.
ALOYSIVS ÆQVES, ET GASP.
EX FRATRE NEPOT.
TANTO VIRO.[1]

Amongst the many works composed by Gasparo Contarini, was one entitled, "Responsio ad Apologiam Francisci Georgij," which doubtless confuted Friar Georgio's arguments in favour of the divorce demanded by Henry VIII. The work no longer exists; but like his official despatches, it connects him with England, whilst his familiar letters addressed to Reginald Pole form another link between England and this illustrious Venetian.

To return to my narrative. A fortnight after the appearance of the lampoons at St. Paul's, Henry VIII. and his prime minister received from Charles V. the instrument of compromise, appointing them judges of his disputes with France. In July Francis accepted the mediation of England, and on the 2nd of August Wolsey landed at Calais. The Venetian Ambassador remarks that the English Sovereign was certainly desirous of peace, remembering how much the treasure left him

[1] See "Inscrizioni Veneziane raccolte ed illustrate da Emmanuele "Antonio Cigogna," vol ii. pp. 226, 227, *et seq.*

by his father had been diminished by the last war with France; and because England was still agitated by the fall of Buckingham. On the 5th of August Wolsey opened the conference, announcing that he had been sent by his master to make peace between his nephew the Emperor and his brother the King of France. The Papal Nuncio approved of the project, and then followed a long debate between the Chancellors of the Emperor and of King Francis, Gattinara and Duprat. The first sitting was terminated by a proposal from Wolsey to make a truce, as a preliminary to negotiations for peace; and the conference then adjourned.

Before the arrival of Wolsey at Calais, his intention to hold a personal interview with the Emperor was already known at Ghent, and on the day preceding the first conference, when the Cardinal gave a dinner to the Imperial Commissioners, his bias in favour of their master was evident. On the night of the 2nd August, when the news of Wolsey's arrival at Calais reached Ghent, Charles V. immediately sent congratulations to him on the event by a deputation, the chief member of which, although a Neapolitan, was well acquainted with the foreign policy of England. Giambatista Spinelli, Count of Cariati, had been constantly employed by the Emperor Maximilian both as governor of Verona and also on diplomatic missions[1] in Italy and Flanders; he had been in communication with Pace, Wyngfield, Sir Thomas Spinelli (the Florentine), and other envoys in the service of England. For these reasons Charles V. made choice of him to compliment Cardinal Wolsey and escort him from Calais to Bruges. But on hearing that the Emperor's general, the Count of Nassau, had taken Bouillon from Robert de la Marck,

[1] See Mr. Brewer's Calendar (1509–1518) *passim*.

Wolsey considering this an infringement of the seven weeks' truce, re-called his baggage-waggons, already on their way to the Imperial Court, and refused to proceed.

Contarini has left us details of his reception by the Emperor not found in Cavendish.

Wolsey was accompanied by the Lucchese Peter Vannes (whom we still find in the diplomatic service of England in the reign of Queen Mary), and by Sir Thomas More; but from neither of them could Contarini elicit any information beyond the assurance that the negotiations had no other object except to effect peace between the Emperor and Francis. By a letter from Wolsey to Henry VIII.,[1] it will be seen in how haughty a manner he treated the King of Denmark, who, as we learn from Contarini, had refused to attend him on his entry. But the English minister's resentment did not proceed solely from personal vanity. Already in 1518, as we know on the authority of Sebastian Giustinian, the Danish King had provoked the Cardinal's resentment by attempting to negotiate a league with France to the detriment of England. So far Wolsey's proud and haughty bearing was patriotic; and that he had a good memory for any disrespect shown to his country was again demonstrated in 1523 when the fugitive King Christian having been hospitably received at Calais, Wolsey gave as a reason that thus had it been done, "more out of regard for his "alliance with the Emperor, than from any kindness he "had ever shown to England." Finally in June 1524, Wolsey's sense of the national supremacy is recorded by the Imperial Chancellor Gattinara, who said that to effect it, and prevent the Emperor from seeming superior to his King, Wolsey would not scruple to ruin the universe.

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[1] "State Papers," vol. i., pp. 36, 38.

In the letter following the one which contains the account of his interview with the King of Denmark at Bruges, Wolsey acquaints Henry VIII. with the arrangements made for the marriage of the Princess Mary to the Emperor, and under that same date, 19th August 1521, Gasparo Contarini makes a shrewd guess at the event in the following passage :—" On the day before, the Emperor " and Wolsey went in great state to the Church of St. " James, patron of the order of S. Jago di Compostella, " his Imperial Majesty being clad in gold brocade," a material which Contarini had never seen him wear on the highest holydays. The mass chaunted on the occasion was that of the Holy Ghost, which caused the Papal Nuncio Caracciolo, who was Contarini's neighbour at the ceremony, to remark upon the fact, and to infer that the Imperialists had already concluded the business,—that the French would be topsyturvy. But as the Emperor appeared more calm and tranquil than he had been of late, his confessor held out hopes of a peace, which he said was zealously sought by Wolsey, whose sketch of the Emperor at this same period represents him as " very wise for his age and well understanding his affairs " —right cold and temperate in speech, with assured " manner, couching his words right well, and to good pur- " pose when he doth speak."[1] The Imperial Chancellor declares that Wolsey expected to find Charles V. a lad in leading-strings, such as he had been under De Chièvres, whose subserviency to France rendered his master contemptible; but Gattinara assured Contarini that for the future there would be neither peace nor truce between the Emperor and the French unless better terms were offered. The

[1] See " State Papers," vol. vi., p. 85. Wolsey to King Henry VIII., Gravelines, August 28, 1521.

Papal Nuncio Caracciolo already foresaw that Henry VIII. would take part with his nephew. As the negotiations were conducted exclusively by the Emperor, the Lady Margaret, Gattinara, and Wolsey, the result of the conference could only be surmised. At length, on the 20th August 1521 the two Papal Nuncios were summoned to attend the conference. Wolsey continued strenuously to advocate peace, but the Emperor told him that Leo X., whom he could not disappoint, was the person who rejected both peace and truce.[1] The Nuncio Caracciolo resented this remark; nevertheless he ratified it by telling Wolsey that the Pope would not desert his partizans; whilst the Emperor on his part rejected an offer made by the Cardinal in the name of Francis, of a portion of the Venetian territories, and, determining to keep faith with the Pope, he turned a deaf ear to all overtures.

On the 26th August, Cardinal Wolsey quitted Bruges, having had good opportunity for studying the character of the Emperor, who, though no longer in a state of pupillage, did not dispense with the advice of his council.

Wolsey remained negotiating at Calais until the close of November. Immediately on arriving in England he received news of the death of Leo X., and thereupon despatched Pace to Rome. Simultaneously we hear from Ghent "that the treaty between the Emperor and "the King of England might be considered as settled." It is probable that Wolsey gave the finishing stroke to it, having been cajoled by promises of Imperial support in his canvass for the Papal tiara; but the nominee of Charles V., from the commencement of the contest, was in reality the Cardinal de' Medici, who, as the prime minister

[1] See also text, p. 400, for confirmation from the Emperor's own lips.

of Leo X., had persuaded the Emperor to attempt the expulsion of the French from Italy. At a later period Charles alluded to these persuasions of the Cardinal, when he had occasion to vituperate him, as Clement VII., for his ingratitude:—

"His Holiness is well aware, how, being a youth, and scarcely knowing what I was about, I entered on this war for him alone: I do not say for Pope Leo, but for him, for he ruled Pope Leo. Nor were the mutual injuries between the King of France and myself of such a nature as to preclude adjustment; but at his instigation I waged the war; and he has had very good proof how far one and the other of us may be trusted."

The Emperor had then been suffering from ague for many months; but though ill at ease in mind and body his courage did not fail him, and he said a few days later to the Florentine envoy at Madrid:—

"I am expecting bad news both from Milan and Naples; but I care not the least in the world; I shall go into Italy, and thus have a fairer opportunity to obtain my own and take my revenge on those who have wronged me, most especially on that poltroon the Pope. Some day or other Martin Luther will, perhaps, become a man of worth." [1]

A fortnight after this ebullition of resentment the expectation of sinister intelligence was dispelled by the victory of Pavia; and two years later the sack of Rome requited Charles V. for the ingratitude of Cardinal de' Medici, whose canvass for the Popedom in 1522 had proved no less unsuccessful than that of Cardinal Wolsey.

On the 27th May 1522, Charles V. embarked at Calais for Dover; and from the letters of Gasparo Contarini we have a minute account of all that befell him in England from that day until his departure from Southampton for St.

[1] See text, p. 400.

Ander, on the 5th July. The accounts of the English Court, both by Contarini himself and by the Imperial ministers, are frank and unreserved. The Chancellor's bad opinion of Wolsey was confirmed by Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, Bishop of Palencia, who pronounced the Cardinal a marvellous busy-body and detestably arrogant, adding, nevertheless, that his bidding must be done. However unamiable he may have appeared to the Imperialists, the supremacy of the prime minister of England could not be disputed. The rupture with France being formally announced in May by Sir Thomas Cheney, who then took leave of King Francis, Clarencieux proclaimed war at Lyons on the 28th of the same month. On its passage towards Spain in July, the Imperial squadron received news from an advice-boat of the attack on Morlaix and St. Paul de Leon by the Earl of Surrey and Sir Richard Wyngfield, who seems to have combined the soldier with the diplomatist.

From St. Ander to Aguilar, the Venetian and the Piedmontese, Contarini and Gattinara, travelled together, and the Imperial Chancellor, discussing English politics, expressed his belief that King Henry would persevere in the war with France, for the sake of making himself master of Scotland, and obtaining possession of his sister Margaret and her son. He taxed Wolsey with irreligion and rapacity, of which last defect he quoted the following instance. Whilst the alliance with the Emperor was in course of negotiation, Wolsey, he said, did not scruple to demand of the Emperor for himself and some other personages of the English Court, an annual pension of 22,000 ducats, saying that such was the amount hitherto received by them from France, and the Emperor promised compliance with this demand. Gattinara also said that Wolsey's offers to settle the disputes between the Emperor and the

Signory proceeded solely from a desire to obtain some pecuniary acknowledgment. In conclusion, to win the good graces of his Venetian companion, he vituperated the embargo laid on the Flanders galleys, vowing that the Emperor would never have acted so unfairly; and he expressed a suspicion that were any pretext afforded, the property of the Venetian merchants in England, and the galleys also, would be seized. Although the Imperial Chancellor did not think highly of Wolsey, the alliance with England continued, nor do we hear anything of the divorce, either from Rome or Spain, although in November 1522 Sir Thomas Boleyn arrived as ambassador at Valladolid, together with Richard Sampson, and strongly urged the prosecution of the war with France.

On the 3rd August 1523, a league and confederacy for the defence of Italy were agreed upon between Adrian VI. the Emperor, the King of England, the Signory of Venice, the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Milan, the Cardinal de' Medici, the Florentines, and the community of Genoa. On the following 24th September the Pope died, and was succeeded by Cardinal de' Medici, who assumed the title of Clement VII. The French immediately appeared under Milan, but recrossed the Alps in the spring of 1524, returning in the autumn, under the command of Francis, who took up his quarters in Milan and immediately commenced the siege of Pavia, where he was captured by the Imperialists on the 24th February 1525. From the accession of Clement VII. until that event, the Emperor had ceased to place any faith in his allies, but he did not as yet seek to annul his betrothal to the Princess Mary, although two months before the tide turned in his favour he was much amused at hearing her compared to an "owl" by the famous papal diplomatist Nicholas Schomberg, Archbishop of Capua. Whilst

the Archbishop was negotiating for Clement VII. at Madrid in December 1524, he strongly urged the Emperor to prefer the Princess of Portugal to Mary Tudor, who he said would never marry his Majesty, neither would she find a husband in France, as although Henry might desire the connexion, the English would have a King of their own. In time of war, he continued, they made the same use of their Princess as they did of an "owl," as a decoy for alluring the smaller birds. The Emperor not understanding the simile, asked the Archbishop what he meant by the "owl," and when the parallel was explained to him, he laughed heartily, nor did he seem to disapprove of the hint thus jocosely given.

The betrothal of Mary Tudor was considered valid until after the unexpected victory of Pavia, the news of which reached Madrid on the 10th March 1525. One of the first foreign ministers who presented himself at the Old Alcazar of the Moors,[1] to offer congratulations on this event, was Gasparo Contarini. He found the Emperor pacing a gallery and conversing with the Chancellor Gattinara, Mons. de Bresse, and Mons. de la Chau. Seven or eight times the Emperor passed from one end of the corridor to the other, discoursing the whole time. At length, on approaching a window, he called Contarini to him, and received his congratulations most graciously, saying, amongst other things, that he owed the victory to God alone, who, knowing his good will,

[1] The Alcazar was destroyed by fire on Christmas eve 1734, but in the MS. diary of Francesco Contarini, who travelled through Spain in the year 1581, it is stated that the Alcazar then consisted of two quadrangles, between which was the Chapel Royal; fronting the palace was a large square, having at its extremity the stables, and over them was the armoury containing all the body and horse armour of Charles V., and also the armour and weapons used by Francis I. at the battle of Pavia. (See original autograph diary of Francesco Contarini, *penes me.*)

had rewarded him far beyond his deserts. The Emperor chose it at once to be distinctly understood that he owed nothing to his allies.[1]

On the day after receiving the news from Pavia, Charles V., clad in a black frieze cape and jerkin, without any mark of rejoicing, attended high mass, and listened to a sermon, the text of which was :—

"Laudamini nomen Dei vestri quia fecit nobiscum mirabilia."

The Chancellor Gattinara did not conceal his ill opinion of the assistance received from Henry VIII., and said openly in the presence of the Nuncio Castiglione, Contarini, and others, that he knew not what the English would do, or what inclination they might have to make war on a prostrate foe. To the Genoese alone the Emperor expressed some obligation. In reply to the congratulations of their ambassador, he said that he understood how once upon a time they had wished to give themselves to old King Lewis of France, who declined the offer, saying he gave them to the Devil, because they were so changeable. The Emperor added ironically, "and in like manner at this "present, I can say that, if not by Genoa, I have "been well served by the whole of Italy," implying that with the exception of Genoa all the Italian powers had betrayed him. Even this solitary exception was accidental. Antoniotto Adorno had no greater scruples about

[1] The character given by Gasparo Contarini from first to last bears throughout the stamp of truth : the confessor of Charles V. in 1521, knew his penitent well, and gave a sober and impartial account of him, when he said that he was endowed with every virtue, his only defect being that with difficulty could he "forget injuries." This opinion was transmitted to the Signory by Contarini from Ghent on the 30th July 1521, immediately after a conversation with the Emperor's confessor, whom he styles a Franciscan friar resident at his monastery there. (See text, p. 151.)

changing sides than the rest of his countrymen, as we learn from Contarini's letter of 5th March 1525. To the Papal Nuncio Castiglione, who apologized by saying that he was not aware of the Pope's negotiations with France until he got to Lyons, and that many unjust accusations were made against his Holiness, the Emperor made answer, first, that before Castiglione's departure from Rome he knew the Pope was well inclined towards him, but that subsequently he changed; and, secondly, with regard to false accusations against his Holiness, God had made him (the Emperor) king of men, and not king of tongues.

Immediately after the battle of Pavia we hear of a mission to Portugal. The Emperor's marriage with the King's sister was already anticipated. When Contarini asked Gattinara what compensation the Emperor would demand of France for the King of England, the Chancellor replied: "Verily, the Emperor will take small heed "for King Henry."

Francis assured the Emperor that had the victory of Pavia been delayed ten days, England would have declared in his favour, and he offered to exhibit letters to that effect from Henry, who still claimed a large portion of the captive monarch's territories as his share of the spoil. Early in June, Tunstall and Wyngfield are said to have offered the Emperor a sum of money on account of Mary Tudor's dower, and for the consignment of Bayonne; but the Cortes urged him to marry Isabella of Portugal. Later in the month Gattinara professed to believe that the Princess of England was destined for her cousin the King of Scotland, and on the 4th July it was reported that the Emperor's envoy Peñalosa brought a refusal from Henry VIII. either to send her to Spain or release the Emperor from his obligations; whilst on the other

hand the Imperial Court at Toledo declared that the Emperor's marriage to the Portuguese Princess was already settled.

Although an open rupture was for some time delayed, the family compact between Charles V. and Henry VIII. was at an end, and Gasparo Contarini in his report of the Emperor's court made to the Venetian Senate on the 16th November 1525, expresses himself on the subject thus:—

"He (the Emperor) also bears ill-will to the King of England, and I wrote to your Serenity many months ago that discord between them had commenced showing itself; and now that at this present peace has been concluded between the kingdom of France and the King of England without the Emperor's intervention, I believe him to be extremely dissatisfied."[1]

It is, therefore, not improbable that at this period Clement VII. may have been sounded concerning the divorce. Sampson, Tunstall and Wyngfield were succeeded at the Imperial Court by Lee and Ghinucci, who found themselves there at the time of the sack of Rome. But as this volume comes down no further than the month of December 1526, the treatment received by Ghinucci and his colleague, after Clarencieux proclaimed war on the Emperor, needs no comment at present. Suffice it to say that the conferences between Charles V. and his uncle at Calais and in England were as unproductive of lasting friendship, as those held on the Field of Cloth of Gold by Henry VIII. and Francis I.

The Appendix.

In my Preface to Vol. II. of the Venetian Calendar, p. lxi., I alluded to the successor of the late Count Dandolo, as director of the Venetian archives, stating

[1] See Alberi, Venetian Reports, Series 1, vol. ii., p. 62.

how much might be expected from him, and I observed as an apology for my appendices, how impossible it was to discover every document in time to be inserted in its exact chronological order (Vol. II., pp. xlvi., xlvii.).

I have now the satisfaction of announcing the realization of my expectations. Amongst his many other researches Cav. Tommaso Gar directed his attention to certain bundles of unclassed documents, part of which were evidently a parcel of the spoil obtained at the sack of Rome, as already noticed by me (Vol. II., Preface, p. liii.); another part consisted of a miscellaneous correspondence addressed chiefly to the Council of Ten; and a third had been originally placed in the Archives of the Board of Trade, and was probably mislaid with the rest in 1797.

The earliest of the supplementary documents thus liberally communicated to me by Cav. T. Gar, concerning Great Britain and the Papal Court, is dated from St. Mark's, Rome; the palace which still bears that name having been built by the Venetian Pope Paul II. in 1564. Pius IV. made a present of it to the Republic of Venice, and it is now the residence of the Austrian Embassy. The document in question is an original draft on paper, presented to Paul II. in his new abode by the Datary for his Holiness's approval. A transcript on parchment was forwarded as usual to James III. King of Scotland, on the 23rd January 1466. It relates to the appointment of Patrick Graham to the bishopric of St. Andrew's. The new bishop in 1470 had sufficient influence to have his see erected into an archbishopric, and became Papal Legate in Scotland, an office which caused him so much vexation that he died at Lochleven Castle of a broken heart in 1478.

The next drafts authenticated by the same Pope bear the date of St. Peter's, 28th January 1471, and relate to

the Prothonotary James Goldwell. They are addressed to the Duke of Clarence, to Thomas Bourchier, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury, to George Nevill, Archbishop of York, and to his brother Richard, Earl of Warwick, "the king-maker," who had replaced Henry VI. on the throne three months before the date of these documents. It appears, therefore, that Paul II. immediately acknowledged the change of dynasty effected in October 1470, and which ended with the death of Warwick at Barnet field on the 14th April 1471. In the following month of August (as will be seen in the first volume of the Venetian Calendar) Edward IV. appointed Goldwell his ambassador to Rome, and from the contents of the Papal breves, written in January of that year, it may be inferred that the Prothonotary had the support of the Duke of Clarence, whose reconciliation with Edward took place early in 1471. Goldwell must have been an able diplomatist, as he found favour both with Lancastrians and Yorkists.

From Pope Sixtus IV. there is the draft of a breve dated 28th September 1473, and addressed to Edward IV. It relates to the deanery of Salisbury. In 1484 the same Pope, by birth a Genoese, complains to Richard III. of certain grievances to which the merchants of Genoa were subjected in England, very much to the regret of his Holiness, who alludes to the expectations entertained of the King's virtue (*virtutis*) and of his just administration. In 1485 another Genoese Pope (Innocent VIII.) wrote to King Richard, complaining that his fellow-countryman Ambrogio de' Negroni had been defrauded of 3,816 ducats by Walter Fitzsimons, Archbishop of Dublin.

Besides the drafts of Papal missives destined for England, and taken from the spoils of the Vatican, we have original letters on parchment from John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Pope Innocent VIII., in

reply to his recommendation of Sir John Kendal, showing that Kendal, who, as seen in the first volume of the Venetian Calendar, enjoyed great favour with Richard III., had given offence to Henry VII., by assuming the title of Prior of St. John's without the consent of the King. They were, however, subsequently reconciled. The abilities of this skilful negotiator are noticed by Lord Bacon in his life of Henry VII.

Cav. Gar, who has with great skill and judgment ordered a classification to be made of 170 bundles of letters, addressed to the Council of Ten by the Republic's agents in all parts of the world, has amongst other documents brought to light several bearing the date of London. The earliest of these was written on the 31st March 1515, by the ambassador Andrea Badoer, and contains a passage in cipher, deciphered for the Ten at the time of its receipt. In substance it is as follows :—

"It is certain that the late Queen of France has married the Duke of Suffolk, who, less than two years ago, was another person's servant.[1] Being in favour with the King, he, with some others, on the demise of the King of France, was sent thither as ambassador, and as now witnessed, he performed the embassy for himself. It is supposed that in secret the King gave his consent. God grant that the marriage be not ill-omened. The whole kingdom clamours, and cannot bear it, and not only England but France likewise. So, owing to this uproar, orders were given in the event of their quitting France, that as the lesser evil, they should go to Calais and not to London, for I certainly think they would be ill received, as I perceive very great confusion, and most especially between the lords and the people (*i signori et popoli*) who, on the day before yesterday in Parliament, well nigh punched their heads (*che poco manco non se habi dà sopra la testa*), and were told that the marriage did not take place by consent of any

[1] "*Fameglio in l' altrui servitij.*" Query, an allusion to his proposed marriage to the Archduchess Margaret. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. ii., nos. 371, 382, 464.)

reply to his recommendation of Sir John Arundell, observing that Arundell, who, as seen in the first volume of the Venetian Calendar, enjoyed great favour with Richard III., had given offence to Henry VII. by assuming the title of Prior of St. John's without the consent of the King. They were, however, subsequently reconciled. The abilities of this skilful negotiator are noticed by Lord Bacon in his life of Henry VII.

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"It is certain that the late Queen of Erance has married the Duke of Suffolk, who, less than two years ago, was another person's servant.[1] Being in favour with the King, by will some others, on the demise of the King of France, was sent thither as ambassador, and as now witnessed, he performed the embassy for himself. It is supposed that in sending the King gave his consent. God grant that the marriage be not ill-omened." The whole kingdom clamours, and cannot bear it, and not only England but France likewise. So, owing to this mystery, orders were given in the event of their quitting France, that as the lesser evil, they should go to Calais and not to London, for I certainly think they would be ill received, as I perceive very great confusion, and most especially between the lords and the people (? signory et popolo) who, on the day before yesterday in Parliament, well nigh pounded their heads (che poco mancò non si fusse dà sopra la testa), and were told that the marriage did not take place by consent of any

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1 "Zaneglio le l' aveva sposata." Query, an allusion to the proposed marriage to the Archduchess Margaret. (See Venetian Calendar, vol. ii. nos. 371, 382, 454.)

of the lords (*signori*) with the exception of the Archbishop of York, who has sprung up like a mushroom, and if he escapes this [attack ?] he will have performed no small feat."

The despatches of Sebastian Giustinian show that the marriage was not liked, and we now learn that this aristocratic feeling was shared by the people. The invasion of the House of Lords by the mob, in demonstration of this ill-feeling, has not been recorded by any historian, nor until the appearance of Mr. Brewer's Calendar was it generally known that Wolsey favoured the match.

The "popular movement" in Parliament took place on the 29th March 1515. In July 1516, Suffolk absented himself from the Court because the King, at the suggestion of Wolsey, refused to pay a debt contracted by his brother-in-law in France. By the Venetian Calendar[1] we learn that in May 1517, Suffolk was again paying the most obsequious court to Wolsey, on whom he waited like a dependent.

The same letter from Badoer to the Ten reminds us also of the claims of England upon Cyprus. In February 1515, Julian de' Medici married Philiberta of Savoy, in right of whom he proposed wresting that island from the Venetians. When the project was communicated to Henry VIII. he declared, at the suggestion of Badoer, that if the Venetians were expelled from Cyprus, he should claim the island for himself as the heir of Richard Cœur de Lion, forgetting, or perhaps never having known, that the Lion-hearted King sold the island for 100,000 bezants to Gui de Lusignan.

Amongst papers of another class and of a later period than those calendared in the present volume, some relate to the Board of Trade, and as they bear upon a recent

[1] Vol. ii. p. 381.

question of maritime insurance, I have obtained a special permission from the Master of the Rolls to allude to them here.

By my friend Mr. Manley Hopkins, to whose "Manual of Marine Insurance" (which followed his "Handbook of Average") allusion was made in my last Preface (p. l.), I was informed that—

"In 1867 one of the tea ships from China, contrary, it is alleged, to custom, had a tier or layer of wine in casks at the bottom of her hold, and had to *jettison* a considerable quantity of tea to lighten the vessel, and preserve all the contents. On discharging her cargo it was observed that all the teas had acquired a vinous or alcoholic smell and flavour, by which they became depreciated about 25 per cent. of their full value. The underwriters affirm that they are not liable for this depreciation; first, in accordance with the Tea Clause,[1] because the tea was not actually in contact with sea water; and, secondly, because they allege that it was contrary to custom to stow any wine in a tea ship."

This circumstance caused much dispute between the underwriters in London and the merchants whose teas they insured.

The papers from the archives of the Venetian Board of Trade, lately communicated to me by Cav. Gar, as already stated, show that in March 1588, 100 bags of currants were shipped at Venice for London, where the merchant for whom they were destined refused to receive them, because they had been damaged by the *leakage of wines*. The case was referred for arbitration to two grocers, viz., John Hyde (an ancestor of Lord Chancellor Clarendon) and Richard Aldworth, who rated the loss on each bag at 40*s*. Hereupon the purser took the currants for account of his master, the shipowner, paying the original consignee their "prime cost." This arrangement did not meet the approbation of the shipowner, and at length, in

[1] See Handbook of Average, 3rd edition, p. 255.

October or November 1590, the Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, converted into a statute of the realm the award made by Hyde and Aldworth. By a decree in Chancery it was ordered that the shipowner in Venice should ratify it before the 15th June 1591. The currants had been insured at a premium of 15 per cent., but none of the parties throughout the proceedings ever attempted to hold the insurers responsible for average; and as in all matters relating to maritime insurance, Venetian custom may be considered law, it appears to me that the wine and currant case of 1588 might facilitate a decision in the wine and tea case of 1867.

I have also been favoured by Cav. Gar with a further supply of documents concerning England, one of which contradicts an assertion made by Sanuto, and printed by me at p. 191, No. 374, of the present volume.

Sanuto states that Cardinal Adrian, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was never heard of after his departure from Venice in December 1521, and it was generally supposed that he had been murdered on his journey thence towards Rome. We now find by a letter which the Council of Ten received in May 1523, that Cardinal Adrian was still alive, and was urging his namesake, Pope Adrian VI., to restore him to his dignity and his benefices.

In St. Mark's Church, fronting the Chapel of the Cross, there yet stand two exquisite bronze candelabra, wrought by Maphio Oliviero of Brescia, with an inscription purporting that they were presented to that chapel by Altobello Averoldi, Bishop of Pola, who during many years filled the post of Papal Legate in Venice. In 1523, Averoldi was Governor of Bologna for Pope Adrian VI., and being by birth a Venetian subject, he kept up a correspondence with the Ten, part of which is in cipher, but with a contemporaneous translation.

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In one of these letters, dated Bologna, 10th May 1523, Averoldi announced the arrival there of a messenger from England and France, by whom he was informed that Henry and Wolsey would on no account consent to the re-instatement of Cardinal Adrian. The messenger considered it certain that Adrian's restoration would never be permitted. Moreover he told Averoldi that he had been informed by the great Lombard statesman, Hironimo Morone, that there was a person at Milan who could interpret any cipher however difficult. It is probable that the fame of Zuan Soro (alluded to in Vol. II. of the Venetian Calendar, Preface, p. lxxii.), did not suffer from so vague an assertion. An astute guess at the meaning of one or two signs would hardly suffice for the complete interpretation of an alphabet composed in cipher throughout, and used by such adepts in the art as the Venetian secretaries of the 16th century.

Italian intelligence was appreciated and well rewarded by Henry VII. Adrian de Castello obtained from that King first the see of Hereford, and then that of Bath and Wells; and John and Silvester de Giglis, the uncle and nephew, were rewarded in immediate succession with the bishopric of Worcester. Pietro Carmeliano was the King's Latin secretary, and it has been already seen (Venetian Calendar, vol. i.), that if he was useful to the English monarch, he also aided the Republic of Venice at the time of the League of Cambrai. A letter now brought to light by Cav. Gar, convinces me that some years before Julius II. levelled that blow at the Republic, Carmeliano had done his best to dissuade Henry VII. from encouraging the Pope in his attack. Although unsigned, the letter is evidently from the Latin secretary, dated London, 8th March 1504. It is addressed to the Venetian ex-consul there, by whom it was forwarded to the Council of Ten.

Cardinal Adrian (then secretary to Pope Julius), although the Venetians had helped him to obtain the red hat in 1503,[1] was in the following year advocating the Papal attack on Venice,—an act of apparent ingratitude, which may perhaps be attributed to official duty as paramount to private sentiment. Be this as it may, Carmeliano declares that early in 1504 Cardinal Grisogono (such was Adrian's title) and Cardinal Sta. Croce (Bernardo Caravaial, a Spaniard) wrote to Henry VII. in the Pope's name, requesting his aid against the Signory, for the recovery of Rimini and Faenza. In reply to these letters, which reached London in the middle of February 1504, Carmeliano took no notice of the two cities in the Romagna, and upon the King inquiring the reason of this omission, the Secretary replied that if he had said a word to the Cardinals, they would instantly have shown it to the Pope, who would have claimed it as a promise, and that it was inopportune for his Majesty to embark in the labyrinth of Italian politics. He added that the King had a good excuse for declining, as the dispute was one of temporal jurisdiction (*contese del mondo*). Carmeliano states that the King approved of his opinion, nor was any reply given, "as everything passes through his (Carmeliano's) hands." Carmeliano then adds, that the Consul Giustinian had communicated to him letters from the Signory on the same subject, apparently combining a request for letters of recommendation from the King to the Pope. This, Carmeliano says, could by no means be conceded, "as his Majesty "has many important matters to arrange with his "Holiness."

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[1] See Venetian Reports of Rome, annotated by Tommaso Gar, in Alberi's Collection, Series 2, vol. iii. p. 57.

The letter from the Signory to the consul Nicolò Giustinian may be read in Vol. I. Venetian Calendar (No. 837), confirming the authenticity of Carmeliano's information.

Allusion has been made by me[1] to the death at Padua of Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and to a suspicion that his death was caused by poison. This suspicion was shared by Bernardo Giorgio, who assumed the office of Podestà of Padua a month after Courtenay's death, and wrote his epitaph, published by Scardeon in 1560.[2]

" Anglia quem genuit, fueratque habitura patronum
CORTONEVM, celsa hæc continet arca ducem,
Credita causa necis regni affectata cupido,
Reginæ optatum tunc quoque connubium :
Cui regni proceres non consensere Philippo
Reginam regi iungere posse rati.
Europam unde fuit inveni peregrare necesse,
Ex quo mors misero contigit ante diem.
Anglia si plorat defuncto principe tanto,
Nil mirum, domino deficit illa pio.
Sed jam CORTONEVS cœlo fruiturque beatis,
Cum doleant Angli, cum sine fine gemant.
Cortonei probitas igitur, præstantia, nomen,
Dum stabit templum hoc, vivida semper erunt.
Anglia hincque etiam stabit, stabuntque Britanni :
Coniugij optati fama perennis erit.
Improba naturæ leges Libitina rescindens,
Ex æquo iuvenes præcipitatque senes.[3]

The " Podestà " had doubtless proofs of the crime, which, as seen in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar (p. 260), was rumoured immediately after the death of Courtenay, on the 18th of September 1556. The ambassador then resident with the Republic of Venice, on behalf of Queen

[1] Preface, vol. i. p. xxxvi.

[2] Bernardini Scardeonii, Canonici Pativini, De sepulchris insignibus exterorum Patavii jacentium (p. 398 in Basilica D. Antonij Confess.).

[3] Basileæ apud Nicolaum Episcopum juniorem anno 1650.

The letter from the Signory to the consul Niccolò Cibo, which may be read in Vol. I. Venetian Calendar (No. 837), confirming the authenticity of Carmeliano's information.

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« Anglis quem genuit, fovebat Italia patronum
COLPTONEIUM, tales hinc condidit ara cineres.
Cedilia cuspe mesis regni affectata cupido.
Regnus defectum tunc dyodie committitur
Cui regni processus non opinatus ere Philippe
Regnans regi Hungarie pene rui.
Europam unde fuit luctus peregrine necessi,
Ne quo mors misero contigit ante diem.
Anglia si pluret dedecoris principe tanto,
Nil mirum, dominio deficit illa pio.
Sed jam COMITISSYS vola finitimque beatis,
Cum dolcant Angli, cum tibi flet genitus.
Condonej prebitas lignin, pacatumbi, nostris,
Dum stabit regnum hoc virtus semper erunt.
Anglia hinegne etiam stabit, stabuntque Britanni
Cumulej quoad fluvi pectoris ora.
Inprobe nedum lepra Libitina resedebus,
Ex equo lo veres proscriptionem sorte.»

The "Podestà" had doubtless perils of the cruise, which, as seen in the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar (p. 200), was announced immediately after the death of Courtenay, on the 13th of September 1556. The ambassador then resident with the Republic of Venice, on behalf of Queen

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1 Treaties, vol. I. p. 332 ff.

2 Bernardi Sanuccoi, Consulis Paduani, De sepulchris inclytorum externorum Tumuli libri octo (p. 250 in Basilius D. Austonii Gentilis).

3 Basilee apud Sixtum Henricpetrum anno 1560.

Mary, was a Lucchese, by name Peter Vannes, the same who in August 1521, as mentioned in the present volume, was secretary to Cardinal Wolsey at Bruges. It was doubtless supposed that Vannes must have been privy to the act, and although not an Englishman, the national character suffered from the suspicion, despite his demand "for any open trial and assured declaration of the truth, "in *forma autentica*, to which he was moved for the "Queen's honour, that by silent murmurs was by wicked "persons and ignorant people unworthily and much "blotted,—ignorant people who do not consider that of a "godly woman can nothing proceed but godly acts."[1]

An official memorandum communicated to me in December 1868 by Cav. Gar, warrants a belief that neither Queen Mary nor Vannes were concerned in Courtenay's death, and that it was more probably compassed by the the Spanish minister Ruy Gomez.

A despatch written from Richmond on the 31st August 1555, by the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Michiel, shows that Ruy Gomez had then quitted England, and that Philip would not leave for Brussels until Gomez returned.

Michiel had previously given various notices of Courtenay, some of which, in cipher, have been recently deciphered by the Signor Luigi Pasini, of whose labours in this matter I consider it only just to give the following account. In the autumn of 1865, when Mr. T. Duffus Hardy inspected the Venetian Archives and Public Libraries, he perceived the importance of the despatches written by Giovanni Michiel, and suggested to her Majesty's Government that the ciphered part of them should be photographed at once, so that whatever political or domestic accidents might occur, some of the most curious materials

[1] See the late Mr. Turnbull's Calendar, p. 260.

for the continuation of the Venetian Calendar should at any rate be found in our Public Record Office. Mr. Hardy's foresight was justified in July 1866, by the removal to Vienna of various Venetian State Papers, the greater part of which, however, were restored to these archives in October 1868 together with many other records, the seizure of which dated from the year 1797.

As the Venetian Calendar has only now reached the close of 1526, the public service did not require the *immediate* deciphering of the ciphered part of the Michiel correspondence, commencing with the 12th March 1555, and therefore Signor Luigi Pasini (who, in consequence of Mr. Hardy's visit to Venice, immediately determined to construct a key for the discovery of these ciphers), did not feel it necessary to hasten the performance of his self-imposed task. He however completed it in January 1869, and in the following month he presented to the Record Office his complete cipher alphabet, which enables me (with his permission) to give additional particulars of undoubted authenticity concerning Edward Courtenay. Cavalier Gar has tested this key, and found it satisfactory.[1]

On the 8th April 1555 Michiel wrote from London, but not in cipher, that the Earl of Devonshire had at length obtained his release, and on that day was to kiss their Majesties' hands. His departure from England is announced to the Signory on the 29th April *in cipher*, thus deciphered by Luigi Pasini:—

"The Earl of Dansier (*sic*), either of his own choice, or by the suggestion and advice of others—or rather by command—is to depart hence today or tomorrow, with all his followers, to cross the sea; and he will go to Brussels to kiss the Emperor's hand—to thank his Majesty for the boon obtained by the most Serene King—

[1] See also an Italian pamphlet printed at Venice, in August 1869, entitled, "I Dispacci di Giovanni Michiel (1554-1557); Rettificazioni ed Aggiunte di Luigi Pasini."

for the continuation of the Venetian Calendar should at any rate be found in our Public Record Office. Mr. Hardy's foresight was justified in July 1850, by the removal to Vienna of various Venetian State Papers, the greater part of which, however, were restored to these archives in October 1858 together with many other records, the existence of which dated from the year 1797.

As the Venetian Calendar has only now reached the close of 1520, the public service did not require the immediate deciphering of the ciphered part of the Michiel correspondence, commencing with the 13th March 1555, and therefore Signor Luigi Pasini (who, in consequence of Mr. Hardy's visit to Venice, immediately determined to construct a key for the discovery of these ciphers), did not feel it necessary to hasten the performance of his self-imposed task. He however completed it in January 1860, and in the following month he presented to the Record Office his complete cipher alphabet, which enables me (with his permission) to give additional particulars of undoubted authenticity concerning Edward Courtenay. Carnilier Car has tested this key, and found it satisfactory.

On the 8th April 1555 Michiel wrote from London, but not in cipher, that the Earl of Devonshire had at length obtained his release, and on that day was to kiss their Majesties' hands. His departure from England is announced to the Signory on the 20th April in cipher, thus deciphered by Luigi Pasini:—

"The Earl of Devon (sic), either of his own choice, or by the suggestion and advice of others—or rather by command—is to depart hence to-day or to-morrow, with all his followers, to cross the sea; and he will go to Brussels to kiss the Emperor's hand—to thank his Majesty for the boon obtained by the most Serene King—

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[1] See also an Italian pamphlet printed at Venice, in August 1859, entitled, "I Dispacci di Giovanni Michiel (1554-1557); Frammenti ed Appunte di Luigi Pasini."

the principal author of his release—and to reside awhile at that court; not merely for the purpose, as he says, of learning its fashion and ways, knowing himself devoid of any experience, having, it may be said, grown up and been educated until now in prison, but also to be present and see the war, which—should the agreement not take place—will it is feared be waged on those frontiers [of Flanders and France?]; intending after some time to betake himself to Italy; mitigating (as many persons declare) by this fair pretext the boundary assigned him, and the commutation of his prison; although a person in his confidence has told me that the most illustrious the Chancellor (Stephen Gardyner) has told him, in the name of the most Serene Queen, that going away, he may always return at his pleasure, it sufficing that he shall not find himself here on this occasion at the time of the delivery."[1]

The Earl of Devonshire carried out his intention of seeing Italy, and on the 15th of January 1556 was at

Cipher deciphered by Luigi Pasini.

[1] "Il Conte di Dansier (*sic*), sia sua eletione o sia ricordo et consiglio "di altri, o più presto commandamento, deve hoggi o dimani partir di qua "con tutti li sui per passar il mare, et andarà a Brusseles per basciar "la mano all' Imperator, per ringratiar Sua Maestà della mercede "ottenuta dal Serenissimo Re principal autore della sua liberatione, et "per resieder un pezzo in quella corte, non solo affine, come egli dice, "di imparar lo uso et pratiche de quella, cognoscendosi senza alcun' "experientia, essendo si può dir cresciuto et fino a questa età allevato "in prigione; ma per trovarsi ancor presente et veder la guerra che "questo anno, non succedendo lo accordo, si teme debbe esser a quelle "frontiere, con animo di ridursi poi dopo qualche tempo in Italia; "colorando come molti affermano con questo honesto pretesto il confine, "che gli è dato, et la comutatione della prigione, ancor che da persona "sua confidente mi sia ditto, che lo illustrissimo Cancellier lo abbia "assicurato per nome della Serenissima Regina, che andando, potrà "sempre senza altra licentia di Sua Maestà tornarsene a suo pia-"cere; basta che non si trovarà quì in questa occasione et tempo del "parto." Since Signor Luigi Pasini's discovery of the Michiel cipher, he has devoted his talents to the interpretation of that used by Michiel Surian, and his industry and ingenuity have been rewarded with complete success. Surian's cipher differs completely from that of his predecessor, Giovanni Michiel, both in form and signification. He also makes use of another cipher, which differs from the rest of the correspondence, and Signor Pasini thinks it to be that employed at the time by Venetian Ambassadors when writing to each other. He has deposited fac-similes of these two ciphers in the Public Record Office, at London.

Venice on a visit to Vannes, and three weeks previously a communication had been made to the Council of Ten, by a Dalmatian soldier, the substance of which, as recorded in the above-mentioned minute, is as follows :—

On the 24th December 1555, Marco of Risano having appeared before the Chiefs of the Ten, was addressed thus,—

"You told the Procurator Carlo Morosini that you know of an order given for the murder in this city of Courtenay, who is coming hither from England. Narrate what you know concerning this matter."

To this interrogatory Marco of Risano replied,—

"On the 28th of August (1555), Ruy Gomez quitted England for Flanders, and before his departure he arranged for me to speak with him. I went to his house, and found him in a great hurry on the eve of setting out, *so that I was no longer able to speak to him. He said to me,*[1] 'Captain, thou art to cross over to Flanders; thou wilt come and meet me there.' I crossed on our Lady's Eve in September, and went to Brussels, where I found the said Don Ruy Gomez; and having been with him several times he made me return repeatedly. At length on the 18th October, when about to proceed on my journey, I went to see him, and he said to me, 'Captain, I have heard of your renown, that you are a brave and honest man, and can do a service which will be very agreeable to me. If thou wilt perform this service I will give thee a thousand crowns, and obtain for thee the favour of the King, who will cause thee to obtain more than thou hast had from the Emperor. There is going to Venice a certain individual, named Courtenay, who expects to be King of England. On my sending to thee a person of mine, according to description, you will be able to discover his abode, and perform the service in his company, as he will have other companions, and you being acquainted with the place, will be able to find boats and the ferries for their escape, so that they may not be seized; they are good men and true, and carry two harquebuses, each with three balls; when they shall have done the deed, assist them, and accompany them into Puglia, when thou shalt see what I will do for

[1] "di modo che non gli potei parlar più : lui mi disse," etc.

thee.' I answered him that on the opportunity's presenting itself I would act willingly; answering thus for my own benefit, but God forbid that I should kill any one for money, were they to give me Naples; and so as I speak the truth so may God help me, nor as yet has anything more come of it."

The statement of the Dalmatian bravo bears the stamp of truth; and we may therefore suppose that the demand of Vannes, for an open trial, to vindicate the Queen's honour was made without guile. A gross violation of the law of nations was to be perpetrated to the detriment of Venice; and my belief is that of this, as of many other sanguinary acts unjustly attributed to Mary, the Queen and the English Ambassador were alike ignorant. The crime was exclusively Spanish, and was designed and executed by Ruy Gomez.

In the church of St. Antonio, at Padua, there still exists the following inscription :—

ODOARDO COURTENAI,

1556.

But Courtenay's remains are no longer in the chapel of the *Crocifisso*, where it may be read; nor is it known when or whither they were removed.

It is said that his tomb at St. Antonio's, being a temporary one, bore no epitaph, so that the one composed by Bernardo Georgio exists in print only, and not in marble.

In the first volume of the Venetian Calendar, No. 823, the death of Arthur, Prince of Wales, is recorded; and now amongst the miscellaneous documents above-mentioned is an original draft without any date, though evidently written at the close of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century, condoling with the King of England on the death of his son in the name of the Doge (Loredano) and the Senate. The draft is in Latin, and styles the deceased heir apparent "a rare model" (*specimen*

singulare), worthy to succeed his father, who is reminded of the "orthodox maxim of the Christian religion that "the Almighty of his wisdom calls to himself those whom "he loves." The Doge expresses his belief that the saying was specially applicable to the King's son by reason of his admirable qualities.

Another document brought to light at the same time as the foregoing, illustrates a feature in Venetian diplomacy, to which I have not hitherto alluded.

The Republic's agents at foreign courts were commanded to correspond with their fellow envoys wheresoever accredited, and the earliest specimen of such news-letters written from *England* is the one calendared in the Appendix to this present volume, written by the Ambassador Andrea Badoer to Pietro Lando, his colleague resident at the Court of Leo X. It is dated 14th June 1514, and records the presence in London of the Apostolic Nuncio, the Bishop of Cività di Chieti, of whom there are several notices in Mr. Brewer's Calendar. It may be inferred from these notices that the future Pope resided in England from the close of 1513 until the spring of 1516, when Leo X. accredited him to the young King of Spain, who was then in Flanders.

In the lives of the Popes, Panvinio alludes to the fact of Caraffa's having been sent Nuncio to England by Leo X. "to exact the Papal revenues," but he does not give any clue to the date of his residence there. Amongst the letters relating to the Bishop of Chieti, calendared by Mr. Brewer, is one from Polydore Vergil, sub-collector of the Papal dues, dated 15th March 1515. Vergil alludes to the "mole" (*talpa*) at Rome, and to the "Gladiator" (*Harenarius*) in England. The former *seems* to have been one of the ministers of Leo X., and the latter was probably Andrew Ammonius, the King's Latin

Secretary, whose appointment as sub-collector in lieu of Polydore Vergil, is dated at Rome, 26th March 1515. The Nuncio Caraffa will of course have been concerned in this transaction; but his negotiations in England had chiefly the peace of Europe for their object.[1] Paul IV. lived to a great age, and amongst the Venetian despatches from his Court, now in my possession, is one, showing that on Wednesday, the 4th December 1555, he held a consistory, at which Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived of his see, permission being given for his consignment to the secular tribunals.

The letters calendared by Mr. Brewer, showing the protection given to Erasmus by the Bishop of Chieti, prove that at the period of his nunciature in England, he was neither bigoted nor intolerant.

From Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, Badoer proceeds to speak of Thomas Bohier, General of Normandy, who, under pretence of negotiating the ransom of the Duke of Longueville, offered terms of peace in the name of Louis XII.

The same letter shows that Lando had also used his good offices at Rome to bring about an adjustment between the two Crowns. Amongst other news Badoer tells his correspondent that the French King had acquainted the Dauphin Francis with his intention to marry, his Queen Anne of Britanny having died at the commencement of the year, adding that it was as yet undecided whether he would select the Archduchess Margaret, Duchess Dowager of Savoy, or one of the sisters of the Archduke of Burgundy, or the Queen Dowager of Scotland, or finally Mary Tudor, for whose marriage the treaty was signed at Blois, on the 7th August 1514.[2]

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[1] See Erasmus to Gonell, 7 February 1514, in Mr. Brewer's Calendar.

[2] See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, No. 5307, vol. i.

The only novelty in this announcement is the mention of the Spanish Infanta, to whom it is not generally known that Lewis XII. had ever purposed offering his hand. At the close of the letter Badoer speaks of the recent arrival in London of Lodovico Canossa, whose conversation with Erasmus, during his brief stay there, is detailed in a letter to Germano Brixio.[1]

It does not appear that copies of the letters exchanged between the Republic's agents at foreign Courts were transmitted to the Signory. But there exist at Vienna authentic transcripts of "advices" or "news-letters," compiled in the Ducal Chancery at Venice, addressed to the Signory's envoys abroad, that they might be communicated to the crowned heads and ministers, with whom they held daily intercourse. These advices were doubtlessly garbled, but not to the extent of falsifying the facts.

These news-letters have not been noticed by me because they no longer exist at Venice; but it is to be hoped through the zealous exertions of the Chev. Gar, and the good faith of the Austrian Government, that their restitution may be expected from Vienna. The "advices" from 1537 to 1572 will prove an authentic continuation of Sanuto's Diaries, which close at the end of September 1533.

The earliest of similar official "summaries of advices" range from the year 1510 to 1522, and from amongst them I obtained from Vienna a copy of the following, derived from a letter of Andrea Badoer's :—

"Summarium litterarum oratoris nostri in Anglia, diei 6 *Aprilis* 1510.

"Writes that he has hitherto been unable to see the writings of agreement stipulated with the King of France; but on the autho-

[1] See Roscoe's Life of Leo X.

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[1] See Roscoe's Life of Leo X.

rity of the King of England, having heard it from his own lips, declares them to be in such form as will greatly please the Signory, towards whom his Majesty continues to show himself most favourable. He has withdrawn the Protectorate of England at the Court of Rome from the Cardinal of Pavia,[1] having heard that he is utterly French, and in lieu of him has appointed as his protector Cardinal Pietro ad Vincula,[2] the Pope's nephew."

In conclusion, I have to congratulate myself on the continuation of that assistance from all my Venetian friends to which I have frequently alluded. The present volume, like its predecessors, owes much to the diligence of Mr. E. G. Kirk.

RAWDON BROWN.

Venice, 18th October 1869.

P.S.—After the foregoing pages had been printed, the Venetian news-letters arrived from Vienna, and I regret to say that amongst them there are but four "advices" from England, dated 6th April 1510, 31st January and 4th February 1527, and 2nd March 1544.

The series ranges from 1510 to 1572.

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[1] Francisco Alidosio, created Cardinal by Julius II., December 1, 1505, and who was murdered by the Duke of Urbino, at Ravenna, in the year 1511. (See Guicciardini, vol. ii., p. 375, ed. Friburgo, 1775.)

[2] Galeotto Franciotti della Rovere, created Cardinal by Julius II., 29th November 1503.

VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1520.

Jan.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 157.

1. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

On the 26th the Flanders galleys arrived at Hampton, to the universal joy. Had dined with Cardinal Wolsey and some others. The Cardinal spoke in terms of great honour of the Signory, and after dinner lavished many praises on the State; adding, that he wished to receive the 60 Damascene carpets promised by Sebastian Giustinian. It would be well to make a present to this "individual," who might be styled King of England. The King of France had sent him a golden chalice with a jewelled paten of gold.

London, 28th December 1519. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd January* 1520.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 190.

2. The SAME to the SAME.

Conversations held with Cardinal Wolsey about the Emperor and his coronation. King Henry wished the Emperor to go to Rome pacifically. The Emperor had sent to ask for a safeconduct in case he arrived in England on his passage towards Flanders; and the King had sent it him in ample form. The Cardinal added that his King would abide by the matrimonial alliance and peace with France. He likewise spoke in terms of honour of the Signory, repeating his wish to receive the carpets from Cairo, and that he would pay their cost.

London, 3rd January. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 183.

3. The SAME to the SAME.

On the day of the Epiphany, Cardinal Wolsey went to mass with the ambassadors, as if he had been king, and then kept them to dine with him. The Cardinal said the Emperor meant to be a pacific sovereign. He would come to Germany, and go peaceably to take the crown. King Henry had advised him in this sense, as the territories which he actually held were sufficient for him, and he should not think of making war. The Cardinal spoke in honourable terms of the Signory.

The Flanders galleys were not at Hampton, but at Falmouth.

London, 7th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th February.*

[*Italian.*]

1520.

Jan. 12. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 74.

4. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Ambassador in France, ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN.

Received his letters of the 27th December, touching his conversation with Madame [Louise of Savoy], about the Triple League. Advise him of reports from Rome, England, and Spain, of the intended invasion of Italy next year by the Emperor. Satisfied this is known to his most Christian Majesty. Desire the signature of the Triple League; and that his Majesty will maintain his alliance with the King of England, because the Catholic King would then show more moderation. To request secresy of the King.

Ayes, 151. Noes, 55. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13. Minio's Original Letter Book, MS. penes me. Letter no. 441.

5. MARCO MINIO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Report made in the Consistory by the Legate Bibiena on his return from France. King Francis having made treaties with Spain and England, and being desirous of peace, would maintain the same so long as no injury was done to him or his friends, especially to the Apostolic See.

Rome, 13th January 1520.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 14. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 77.

6. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

By his letter of the 14th December, understood what was said by the Bishop of Durham and the Spanish ambassador [the Bishop of Elna] about the power of the Emperor, and his wish to take the Imperial crown, by entering Italy with an army; and that the Signory would have nothing to apprehend.

Approve his reply, but he is to decline disputing the subject as much as possible. If spoken to thereon, to answer in general terms, attesting the desire of the State for peace and tranquillity, and their friendship for the Emperor.

[*Italian*, 18 *lines.*]

Jan. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. pp. 217–218.

7. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

A fresh ambassador had arrived from France to negotiate the intended interview.

The King had deprived *Monsignor dil Bosco* [Lord of the Wood in co. Kildare (?), *i.e.* Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare] of the Lord Deputyship in Ireland, for an act of disobedience, and h appointed the Admiral [Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey] as Lor Deputy in his stead; but the Irish did not render much obedienc to his Majesty. He (Surian) had no opportunity of speaking t the King, and therefore requests the Signory to send him advices that he might communicate them in due form.

London, — and 28th January. *Registered, 16th February.*

[*Italian.*]

1520.

Feb. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 186.

8. MOTION made in the SENATE by the Sages, for a letter to Antonio Surian, Venetian ambassador in England, to thank Cardinal Wolsey for his excellent disposition for peace. The proposal of England and the Signory's reply to be communicated to the Venetian ambassador in France.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 82, tergo.

9. The DOGE and SENATE to the Venetian Ambassador in England, ANTONIO SURIAN.

Received two of his letters dated the 7th ultimo. By one, he narrates the conversation held by Cardinal Wolsey with the French ambassador and himself, announcing the Emperor's disposition for peace; the King and Cardinal being similarly inclined. Approve what he has written. To tell the Cardinal how acceptable his sage discourse has proved to the State. To exhort the Cardinal to persevere in his sound purpose.

To return thanks for the loving demonstration made by him towards the Signory, and for his gracious offer.

Enclose summaries of news from the Levant, for communication as usual to the Cardinal, and such other persons as he (the ambassador) shall think fit.

[*Italian,* 32 *lines.*]

Feb. 4. Minio's Original Letter Book, MS. penes me. Letter no. 454.

10. MARCO MINIO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Appointment of a "Congregation" to condemn the propositions of Martin Luther.*

Rome, 4th February 1520.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 194.

11. MARTIN LUTHER.

Receipt on that morning of letters from the Ambassador Minio, dated Rome the 4th. . . . In Germany an Austin friar, called Friar Matthew (*sic*) Luther, had written works against the Pope and the church, and had preached publicly at Nuremberg to that effect; which facts having come to the knowledge of the Pope, he had convened a Congregation of learned Observantine friars, and had appointed two cardinals as their chiefs, namely, Ancona [Pietro degli Accolti, Bishop of Ancona] and Gaeta [Friar Tommaso de Vio], who were very learned, that they might suppress this opposition to the Church.

Registered by Sanuto, 9th February.

[*Italian.*]

* The Ambassador's secretary being absent at Naples, the copies of his letters were not always transcribed in full during that interval; and in the present instance the memorandum about Luther is registered thus:—"*De congregatione facta pro damnandis propositionibus fratris Martini Luter: de discesu* (*sic*) *Card. Medicis.*"
The diaries of Sanuto contain a summary of the despatch, as in the text.

1520.

Feb. 4. **12.** MARTIN LUTHER.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 202.

Copy of a paragraph in a letter from Marco Minio, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, dated the 4th February 1520.

Three days ago, a Congregation of all the Generals of the Mendicant orders was held, and such as were not present at Rome were represented by the procurators of said orders, the chiefs of this Congregation being the Cardinals of Ancona and Gaeta.

This Congregation was appointed in order to condemn certain propositions of Friar Martin Luther, who has preached in Germany against the authority and power of the Pope, and has a considerable party, and is much favoured by the Duke of Saxony. An attempt is thus being made to deprive him [Luther] of the protection he enjoys and of his adherents, and the bull is being drawn up; but the course taken by the Congregation was injudicious, for they suddenly read said friar's propositions, and then took the votes.

This friar Martin founds his arguments chiefly on the Gospels; he acknowledges the doctors of the Church, such as Saint Augustin, but not the other doctors, and he scoffs at St. Thomas Scotus and the like. It is a very scandalous business.

Registered by Sanuto, 13th February.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 7. **13.** CARDINAL WOLSEY'S CARPETS.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 189.

Determination of the College to sell the chain (which had been deposited in the office of the Procurators of St. Mark) given by the King of England to the ambassador Sebastian Giustinian, worth 500 ducats; and also the two cups given by the King of Hungary to the ambassador Alvise Bon, worth about 200 ducats; the proceeds to be expended in the purchase of 60 Damascene carpets, to be sent as a gift to Cardinal Wolsey in England.

Note by Sanuto that the purchase was made, and the carpets sent accordingly.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. **14.** MARCO MINIO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Minio's Original Letter Book, MS. penes me. Letter no. 457.

The Pope says that the King of England made fair promises, but inclined more towards Spain than France, and in case of a rupture he would declare for Spain.

Rome, 9th February 1520.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 11. **15.** The SAME to the SAME.

Minio's Original Letter Book, MS. penes me. Letter no. 458.

It had been determined to institute another "Congregation," for the more deliberately condemning the sayings and opinions of Friar Martin Luther.

Rome, 11th February 1520.

[*Italian.*]

1520.
Feb. 16. **16.** MARTIN LUTHER.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 205. The Ambassador Minio writes from Rome in date of the 11th that Congregation of Franciscan Friars-Observant which the Pope convoked against that Friar Martin Luther in Germany, had intended to draw up a bull against him, but they subsequently made the Pope determine to discuss the matter more fully by holding another Congregation of other eminent men (*excellente homeni*).

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22. **17.** ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 257. The envoy sent to England to negotiate the interview with the King had returned, having settled it; but the period was not known.

Cognac, 22nd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. **18.** MOTION made in the SENATE by the Sages, for a letter to the ambassador in England, to acquaint the King and Cardinal Wolsey with the result of the conference at Verona; and that the Imperial ambassadors departed "*re infecta;*" but that the Signory had nevertheless given them the 20,000 ducats.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 221.

Speech made by Sebastian Giustinian, late ambassador in England, against the letter; saying the subject should not be mentioned, as the King would exclaim "I will be the arbiter; I have the heart to arrange matters;" and that he would desire the State to place the business in his hands, which should be avoided. Giustinian added that the carpets had not been sent to Cardinal Wolsey, nor had it been decided to send them; and that he, the Cardinal, "*est alter Rex.*"

Amendment to the motion proposed by Zuan Contarini, sage for the orders, that the ambassador be written to, so that if the King or others broached the topic, he might know how to answer, but not to anticipate the announcement.

For the amendment, 82. For the original motion (which was carried), the rest.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 25. **19.** The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, vol. xlviii. p. 88. To acquaint the King and Cardinal with the Signory's affairs.

By virtue of the quinquennial truce negotiated between the late Emperor and the Signory, certain points remained for discussion concerning the jurisdiction of places, and restoration of property belonging to Venetian subjects in the Friuli, and other territories of the State, and the liquidation of the sums to be paid to Venetian emigrants who rebelled against the State during the late war. The State had agreed with the present Emperor, that he should send delegates to Verona, to confer with an ambassador from the Signory concerning these differences. The meeting having been held in the presence of an ambassador from the most Christian King,—who, according to a clause in the truce, is mediator between the Emperor

1520.

and the State,—it was agreed the latter should pay the Emperor annually 20,000 ducats. The Imperial delegates then made several demands not sanctioned by the clauses of the truce, and the State referred the matter for arbitration to the French ambassador, who was present throughout the conference. Announcement to this effect having been made to the Governors of Inspruck, they declared themselves unable to give further orders until they had communicated with the Emperor, and as he was going to Flanders in the spring, they thought it best to suspend the conference for the present. Is to communicate as above to the King and Cardinal.

Amendment moved by Giovanni Contarini, Sage for the Orders:

That the exordium, where mention is made of the communication of the matter, be omitted; and at the close, where the ambassador is desired to impart it to the King and Cardinal, be it said—

"We have narrated to you substantially the result of this conference for your information, charging you not to speak to any one about what we have told you above, unless you be spoken to on the subject."

Ayes, 82. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian, 58 lines.*]

Feb. 25. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, vol. xlviii. p. 89.

20. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Communicate the result of the Verona conference, and enclose a copy of their despatch to their ambassador in England.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 229.

21. MOTION made in the SENATE by the Sages, and carried, to suspend the letter destined for England, until the next meeting of the Senate.

[*Italian.*]

March 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 298.

22. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The interview would take place next May; one of the two Kings going to Boulogne, the other to Calais.

Had been told by Cardinal Wolsey, that at the Verona conference the Signory demanded the surrender of towns not mentioned in the articles of the treaty.

London, 27th February and 3rd March. *Registered, 26th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 3. Senato Mar, vol. xix. p. 123.

23. REDUCTION of DUTIES on MERCHANDISE imported from ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate by the proveditors for the London factory.

Complaints made by the Spanish, Flemish, and other merchants, of the exorbitant duty on kerseys and other western produce, amounting to 2½ per cent. Wherefore the proveditors moved that all western produce brought to Venice, by land or sea, by natives or

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foreigners (with the exception of the goods brought to the German warehouse, which had always been exempt from duty), pay the sole quota of one per cent., should they not have paid the consuls on exporting from the west. Should they have paid, then to bring certificates. or otherwise pay the quota. The reduction of the quota not retrospective. The act not to alter the duties at present levied by the factory in London.

Ayes, 132. Noes, 13. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 21 *lines*.]

March 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 321.

24. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The interview between his Majesty and the King of France was to take place at Calais or Boulogne on the 24th of May.

The Emperor had sent an envoy to the King of England, to prevent the interview, but the King was firm, and was making great preparations of apparel and other things, including a most costly tent, for the King's use beyond sea.

Cardinal Wolsey adroitly urged the Signory to have him supplied with 60 Cairo carpets.

In the French towns the King of England was to take precedence of the King of France. One or two jousts were to be performed, and the two Kings themselves meant to joust.

Dated 10th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii, pp. 371–375.

25. ARTICLES of AGREEMENT concerning the interview to be held between Henry VIII. and Francis I., drawn up by Cardinal Wolsey on the 12th March 1519[–1520]. Modification of the original treaty stipulated in London on the 8th October 1518.*

Registered by Sanuto, 30th April.

[*Latin, 4 pages, and 14 lines, folio.*] †

March 12. Minio's Original Letter Book, MS. penes me. Letter no. 473.

26. MARCO MINIO to the SIGNORY.

The Pope advised from France that the interview between King Francis and King Henry would take place, and some persons thought the Catholic King was hastening his departure from Spain, that he might be the first to confer with King Henry. The Catholic King would hold the Cortes at Corunna, and embark there.

Rome, 12th March 1520.

[*Italian.*]

March 14. Sanuto Diaries v. xxviii. p. 296.

27. ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King would confer with the King of England in May, and was going to Paris for that purpose.

Angouleme, 11th and 14th March. *Registered, 26th March.*

[*Italian.*]

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* See Hall, p. 601. (Edition, London, 1809.)

† Each page of the Marciana copy of Sanuto's Diaries contains, on an average, 48 lines.

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March 16. **28.** MARTIN LUTHER.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 298.

Copy of a paragraph in a letter addressed to Lorenzo Bragadin, by Friar Gabriel, General of the Friars-Hermits, and dated Rome, 16th of March 1520.

Nothing more done about Martin, save that all the theologians of Rome have debated together three times in the presence of the Cardinals of Ancona and San Sixtus, discussing certain propositions of the said Martin's, part of which were considered heretical, part scandalous.

All the generals of the orders have in like manner stated their objections, and the reasons which cause them to remonstrate.

It is now said that a bull extraordinary will be drawn up, reproving his said false propositions without naming him; but I think that he will be admonished by a private brief, and invited to recant, and should he not recant but persevere in his obstinacy, they will proceed against him as a heretic.

Registered by Sanuto, 26th March.

[*Italian.*]

March 27. **29.** The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, vol. xlviii. p. 109, tergo.

Received his two letters of the 28th ultimo, and 3rd instant, acquainting them that the King had said that they had demanded of the Emperor the restitution of certain towns and places, contrary to the clauses of the new league between his Majesty and the other Christian powers. Have understood his reply, for which they praise him. To inform the King and the Cardinal, should he think fit, that the State never had the slightest thought of violating the league, and that the conference was held solely for the purpose of arranging certain disputes connected with the quinquennial truce negotiated between the late Emperor and themselves, and confirmed by the present Emperor. That in virtue of this truce, they at the conference demanded certain property belonging to private individuals, their subjects, and the right of jurisdiction appertaining to the State. That the disputes were referred to the French ambassador, and the Imperial commissioners, alleging they had not sufficient powers, had delayed the settlement, promising that the Emperor would never fail in what was just and fair. To justify all their proceedings, which aim solely at the maintenance of the truce, and the removal of any cause for discord and dissension between the subjects of the Emperor and the State.

Ayes, 193. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 42 *lines.*]

March 30. **30.** LIMITED DIMENSIONS of VENETIAN GALLEYS destined for the MERCHANT SERVICE.

Senato Mar, v. xix. p. 126.

Motion made in the Senate for the remedy of a great abuse in the construction of the Signory's trading galleys, which were built of so immoderate a size that, when completed, in order to bring them out of the Arsenal it was requisite to narrow the "*postize*,"*

* "*Stringer le postize.*" In Boerio's Venetian Dictionary it is stated that in modern times "*Posticcia*" signified the upper part of a ship.

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by which means, it being impossible in case of need to aid the galleys with the oars, they ran the risk of being wrecked, as had been seen recently at Rosetta and Aboukir.

For the future no heavy galley to be built exceeding 160 feet in length, under penalty of 100 ducats to the master builders, and of dismissal from the Arsenal for two consecutive years.

Two galleys then building in the Arsenal, of the prohibited dimensions, of which the keel alone and the "*cavi*" were on the stocks, to be reduced to the due measurement of 160 feet.

Ayes, 149. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 346.

31. FRANCESCO CORNARO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

Had obtained the safeconduct for the Flanders galleys. Arrival at Corunna of 35 ships for the Emperor's passage to Flanders, and as many more were expected. The King of England was to send 40 ships to the Land's End as convoy for his Majesty.

S. Giacomo di Compostella, 25th, 29th, and 30th March.

Registered by Sanuto, 23rd April.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 326.

32. NEWS from ENGLAND of the frequent arrivals there of envoys from the Emperor, who was said to have been to his mother at Tordesillas, and to be hastening to embark at Corunna for his voyage to Flanders. Account of great preparations making in England for the interview with the most Christian King.

[*Italian.*]

April 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 343.

33. ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King of England, understanding that the King of France and his courtiers were making great preparations, wrote that he intended to do likewise, and should he delay a few days beyond the appointed time King Francis was not to be surprised, as he, King Henry, did thus to put himself in order.

Blois, 10th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 376.

34. ARTICLES of AGREEMENT or TREATY concerning the interview to be held between Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V., drawn up by Thomas Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, Cuthbert Tunstal Vice Chancellor and Master of the Rolls, Richard Pace, chief secretary, and Thomas More, on the one part; and by Bernard de Mesa, Bishop of Elna, and Philip Haneton, chief secretary of the order of the Golden Fleece, on the other.*

London, 11th April 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th April.*

[*Latin, 6 pages, folio.*]

* Of this treaty there is no mention in Hall; but it is alluded to in a note to Lingard, vol. 4, p. 197. (Edition, London, 1854.) The original document, on vellum, is preserved in the Public Record Office. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii., no. 740.)

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April 11. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, vol. xlviii. p. 112, tergo.

35. DECREE of the SENATE, respecting Cardinal Wolsey's Carpets.

Expedient at the present time to keep the right reverend Cardinal of York well disposed towards us by reason of the supreme authority and favour enjoyed by him with the King of England. His right reverend Lordship having asked the nobleman Sebastian Giustinian, knight, for from 60 to 100 carpets, and having again with extreme earnestness repeated his demand and urged it to our ambassador now resident in England:

Put to the ballot—To purchase in this our city 60 beautiful and choice carpets, at the cost of 600 ducats; the carpets to be selected and purchased as the College shall direct and sent to London by land, and presented by our ambassador to the Cardinal in the Signory's name. The present decree to be notified to our ambassador, to be communicated forthwith to his right reverend Lordship.

Ayes, 151. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*, 21 *lines*.]

April 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 353.

36. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

Mention by the ambassador of the King's wish to delay the interview, at the instigation of the Spanish envoys, but that at length his Majesty settled to hold it at the end of May.

Details his conversations with Cardinal Wolsey.

Dated 13th April; received at Venice on 27 April. (Note by Sanuto that the letter had travelled very expeditiously.)

[*Italian*.]

April 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 385.

37. ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The expected interview with the King of England would certainly take place at the appointed time, though it was apprehended that the Emperor's conference with the King of England would take place first.

Blois, 22nd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd May.*

[*Italian*.]

April 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. pp. 403–404.

38. FRANCESCO CORNARO, Venetian Ambassador in Spain, to the SIGNORY.

His arrival there from St. James of Compostella. Corunna had a good harbour, but the houses were all of wood with pitched roofs, so that he fancied himself on ship-board. The fleet for the Emperor's passage would consist of about 80 vessels. The Emperor would embark on board one of 800 butts, and that the rest averaged from 300 to 500 butts each. The gentleman [John de la Sauch] sent by the Emperor to the King of England, with a message to the effect that he purposed going to speak to him even in his own palace, had returned, bringing back word that King Henry longed for his arrival, and would send five well-appointed ships to meet him. The Emperor would set sail in 15 or 20 days, perhaps sooner.

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It was certain the interview would take place. On St. George's Day, the Emperor went to church wearing the insignia of the Garter, which the King of England had sent to him.

Corunna, 23rd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Misti Consiglio X. v. xliii. p. 140.

39. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Send copies of letters from Constantinople, and by reason of the peril with which Christendom is threatened, he is to urge his most Christian Majesty to write to the King of England to arm and take steps for the maintenance of religion from overthrow. Is to add that the State is arming, and will not fail doing all that their power admits.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 23 lines.*]

April 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 353.

40. ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King of England had written to King Francis to delay the interview until July. When the English ambassador [Sir Richard Wingfield] spoke to the King, his Majesty became very wrath, saying, "He wants to delay that he may speak first to the Catholic King; but were it so I would never speak to him." Letters having consequently been written to England, King Henry would attend the conference on the 1st of June, because King Francis wrote to him that otherwise he should cross over to England, as the Queen of France, who wished to be present, was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, and could not come were the interview delayed.

Blois, ———. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.*

[*Italian.*]

May 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 415.

41. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The King was firm in his intention of holding the conference with the most Christian King, and preparations were already being made for the journey to Canterbury in order to cross the sea. A rowing pinnace had arrived from Corunna with a secretary [John de la Sauch] from the Emperor, charged to try and prevent the King of England from conferring with the King of France so immediately, and get him to await his Imperial Majesty, who might arrive from hour to hour. Reply of Cardinal Wolsey on behalf of the King, that the matter was already in such a state of forwardness as to forbid any further delay.

The agents of the Kings of France and England were making great preparations for quarters between Guisnes and Ardres, arranging the lists and stages for the spectators of the jousts. All the nobility of the island, including the Duke of Suffolk, were providing themselves with apparel of cloth of gold and of silk to attend these jousts, the proclamation of which Madame Margaret would not allow to be made in Flanders.

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Having to incur great expense for his outfit when accompanying the King to this conference, asks the Signory to grant him a few ducats, his Majesty having told him to provide a tent for his dwelling, as no other habitations could be had.

London, 26th April and 1st May.

Registered by Sanuto, 19th May.

[*Italian.*]

May 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 429.

42. Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Signory.

The King would be at Boulogne on the 27th for the interview with the most Christian King. The Emperor's exertions to prolong the term of no avail.

Dated 1st May. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 447.

43. The Same to the Same.

The interview would most certainly take place, and the King cross the sea on the ——, although Cardinal Wolsey was somewhat indisposed with colic, and he was to accompany the King. There had been some dispute about the site for the jousts, though all would be arranged. King Henry was sending as ambassador to France an individual [Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester,]* who had been there heretofore, and was agreeable to King Francis: he would settle everything. At the place appointed for the English quarters 6,000 men were constantly at work for the construction both of habitations and of the lists. With regard to the interview with the Emperor, it seemed to be postponed from day to day, so that the conference with King Francis would take place first.

London, 7th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 415.

44. Antonio Giustinian, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

The King had remained at a place between Blois and Paris, belonging to Mons. de Lautrec, whose marriage was to be celebrated there. Madame [Louise], the King's mother, had bought an emporium of cloths of silk, in which to array the whole Court pompously, for the interview between the King of England and his most Christian Majesty.

Paris, 8th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 429.

45. The Same to the Same.

The King had departed on his way to the interview with the King of England, and the Queen, Madame [Louise], and the ambassadors were to follow. Nothing was thought of but cloth of gold and finery; so he had been unable to speak to the King, who,

* His commission was dated 10 April 1520. See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii. no. 738.

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together with his Court, were intent solely on bedecking themselves.

Paris, 10th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 15. **46.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 119, tergo.

Motion in the Senate. The nobleman Sebastian Giustinian, knight, having returned from his embassy to England, where he resided during 57 months, and in difficult times, serving with recognised ability, has presented, according to custom, the gold chain given to him by the King of England, which was deposited in the Procurator's office, the gift not having been disposed of in any way, whereas other ambassadors were permitted, some in part and others entirely, to retain the presents made to them, to their no slight satisfaction.

On this account the nobleman aforesaid having recently offered to go as proveditor general to Candia, never shunning toil or danger, however great, provided he act for the public service of his country, and having again intimated his wish to retain the aforesaid royal gift for the sake of doing greater honour to the Signory, and also that it may serve as a memorial for his family and descendants:

Put to the ballot—That the chain delivered by said Sebastian be weighed, and valued accurately; and that he be paid in ready money its real price and value, *minus* 100 ducats.

Ayes, 91. Noes, 95. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 22 lines.*]

May 17. **47.** ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 453.

The disputes about the interview had been adjusted. The King would cross on the 21st. Cardinal Wolsey was in better health than usual.

London, 17th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 17. **48.** ALVISE GRADENIGO and MARCO MINIO, Venetian Ambassadors at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 423.

Arrival of the Duke of Albany from France. The Pope had lodged him in the palace because he was the cousin [*sic, query* brother-in-law] of the wife of the late Magnifico Lorenzino, Duke of Urbino.

Rome, 17th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 18. **49.** ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 468.

Conversations held with Cardinal Wolsey, whom he had acquainted with the news about the Turk. The Cardinal said it was important, and the King would write to the Pope to make the Christian powers resent the attack, as he (King Henry) would

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be ready to act for the benefit of Christendom, and would discuss the matter with the most Christian King at the interview.

London, 18th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 21. to July 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 210-239.

50. An ACCOUNT of the CONFERENCES held by KING HENRY VIII. with the EMPEROR CHARLES V. and KING FRANCIS I.

On Monday the 21st of May, the King and Queen of England, and the royal retinue quitted London and arrived at Canterbury on the 24th, awaiting the Emperor's arrival, as stipulated.

Late on Saturday the 26th the Emperor, with a few of his ships, appeared within six miles of Dover Castle, awaiting there the rest of his fleet.

Cardinal Wolsey, on receiving this intelligence, proceeded with his retinue of 50 gentlemen and other attendants, to Dover, where he embarked with some of his followers in two large boats, for the ship on board of which were the Emperor and Mons. de Chièvres. He then, in a brief Latin speech, expressed the joy of the King at the Emperor's arrival, offering him all that England afforded, and inviting him to land there, as if it were his own territory. The Emperor accepted the offer most willingly, and together with Mons. de Chièvres, went straight to Dover Castle, the rest of his attendants remaining in the town. When the English warder presented the keys of the castle on behalf of his King, the Emperor refused them, saying that without keys he considered himself safe in the house of his uncle and good father, the King of England. Shortly after the departure of Cardinal Wolsey from Canterbury, the King, having heard the news, rode to Dover, where he arrived in the night when the Emperor had supped and was in bed, and there they exchanged embraces and other loving compliments.

The King then left the Emperor in bed, and went and lodged below in the town.

At daylight their Majesties rose, and rode with all their attendants to Canterbury. At a distance of four miles from the town they were met by the French and Venetian ambassadors, who made their obeisance and kissed the Emperor's hand. Outside the gates of Canterbury were 60 dappled palfreys, saddled with women's pillions, but empty; the pillions were all of cloth of gold, one of them being embroidered with fine pearls and jewels. These palfreys had been prepared for the Queen Germaine de Foix, the French woman, relict of the late King Ferdinand the Catholic, now married to the Marquis of Brandenburg.*

* The Venetian ambassador, Francesco Cornaro, records the second marriage of Germaine de Foix to John of Brandenburg, in date of Barcelona, 13 March 1519.

In Hall's Chronicle (p. 604, ed. London, 1809), there is a paragraph thus, "In his retinue with hym" (the Emperor) "were many noble menne, and many faire ladies of his bloud as princes and princesses, *and one ladie as chief to be noted was the Princess Avinion.*" This last word may possibly be a misprint for "*Aragon.*"

John of Brandenburg died in Spain in July 1525, and at Seville, on the 5th May 1526, Germaine de Foix took for her third husband Ferdinand Duke of Calabria.

The foregoing notices, derived from the despatches of the Venetian ambassadors, serve to correct the biographical notice of Germaine de Foix in Bayle's Dictionary, chap. 69, p. 683, and following.

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Within the gates, on entering the town, they found all the clergy with crosses awaiting them on one side, and on the other was the mayor and the whole corporation in scarlet gowns, with hoods half black and half red, according to the custom of the country.

On reaching the square in front of the cathedral everybody dismounted, and entered the church processionally. The French ambassador [De la Bastie] was accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Venetian ambassador, Surian, by the Duke of Suffolk, the Papal Nuncio pairing with the Bishop of Durham. Having entered by the principal door, the Sovereigns walked over a carpet of purple velvet to a kneeling desk for two persons, in the English fashion, covered with gold brocade and furnished with two cushions to correspond. There they knelt, the Emperor on the right hand, the King on the left; and the Archbishop of Canterbury, standing before them in his episcopal robes and mitred, presented the cross for them to kiss, commencing with the Emperor, and then saluting them with the censer and incense; finally he sprinkled them with holy water, always commencing with the Emperor. Their Majesties then rose, and were conducted under a canopy of cloth of gold to the high altar, where in like manner a kneeling desk had been prepared with cushions of cloth of gold, and the ledge covered with crimson velvet. There they again knelt, and the Archbishop presented them with the wood of the holy cross to kiss, and then commenced the hymn, "*Veni Creator Spiritus*," which was suited both to the day, Whit Sunday, and also to the conference between the two Sovereigns, united by spiritual love and goodwill for the benefit of Christendom.

When the music ceased, their Majesties moved to the other end of the church, in the direction of the Archbishop's palace, which had been prepared for the Emperor.

Below, at the door of the first porch, which forms the entry into the palace, they met 25 of the handsomest and best apparelled ladies of the Court. Then, on entering another large corridor, they found some 20 of the Queen's pages in gold brocade and crimson satin, in checquers. They next ascended 15 steps of a marble staircase, and there on the landing was the Queen of England, the Emperor's aunt, dressed in cloth of gold lined with ermine, and beautiful strings of pearls round her neck. She embraced her nephew tenderly, not without tears; and they then proceeded upstairs with the ambassadors and the ladies, into a chamber where breakfast had been prepared; whereupon the attendants were dismissed until the hour for mass.

Francesco Cornaro, the Venetian ambassador resident with the Emperor, and his colleague Surian, accredited to the King of England, having dined, two English gentlemen came in the King's name and conducted them from their lodging to the Emperor, who was lodged with the King and Queen. After a brief stay their Majesties went to the cathedral, preceded by the ambassadors and by upwards of 600 lords and knights, who were all most sumptuously clad in cloth of gold and silver, and wore massive gold chains round their necks.

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Cardinal Wolsey walked immediately in advance of the Emperor and the King, who were side by side, the Emperor to the right.

Both their Majesties wore simars; that of the Emperor was on the right half of cloth of silver, and on the left half of alternate stripes of gold and silver, and the simar was lined with costly sables.

The simar of the King of England was entirely of cloth of gold, lined with very beautiful lynx's fur, and round his neck he wore a very valuable jewelled collar. Both their Majesties wore cloth caps with a brim, and two very superb jewelled ornaments.

On entering the cathedral they were met by the Archbishop with cross and censer, and on arriving at the high altar found three pews. The first was on the right hand side, at a little distance from the altar, and on a level with the fourth step, which marks the first landing. This pew was of gold brocade, lined with silver brocade embroidered with roses, the King's badge, and was carpeted with crimson velvet; it accommodated from 10 to 15 persons, and was destined for the two Sovereigns, who knelt there to hear mass, their kneeling desk being of cloth of gold, and the ledge covered with cloth of gold.

The second pew was on the left hand side, farther distant from the altar, and four steps lower than the first inclosure; it was also of gold brocade, lined with murrey satin, embroidered in like manner with roses.

After the entry of the Emperor and the King, the Queen proceeded to this second enclosure, and knelt at a desk covered in like manner with cloth of gold, and with two cushions to correspond. Beside her was "the beautiful Lady Mary, the King's sister, late Queen of France, now consort of the Duke of Suffolk."

The Queen's petticoat was of silver lama, and the gown of cloth of gold lined with violet velvet, with raised pile, on which the roses of England were wrought in gold. She wore a necklace of very large pearls, from which hung a very valuable diamond cross. Her head gear was of black velvet striped with gold lama, and powdered with jewels and pearls.

The Lady Mary was dressed in silver lama, in plates, joined throughout with gold cords at the extremities of which were fine pearls instead of tags.

The third pew, like the second, was also on the left hand side but nearer the altar and loftier, and on a level with the eighth step. It formed a canopy of crimson satin embroidered throughout with most superb gold cords. Its width was four breadths of satin, and the length of the canopy six yards. On a level with the fifth step of the altar were a gilt chair and a gilt kneeling desk; this was the site where Cardinal Wolsey, legate *de latere*, placed himself with two crosses, which always precede him, to denote that he is both "legate born," and legate *de latere*. He wore a cape of crimson camlet lined with ermine.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, also legate born, celebrated the paschal mass of Whitsuntide, with most excellent music; and the mass ended, Cardinal Wolsey arrayed himself in a cope of gold brocade, and gave the benediction and plenary indulgence.

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The Sovereigns then departed processionally, and returned to the Emperor's chamber, when every one was dismissed, their Majesties dining alone,—the Emperor (placed on the right hand), the King, the Queen, and the Lady Mary.

After dinner there was dancing, and in the evening, the Queen Germaine and 60 ladies on horseback, mounted on white palfries saddled with cloth of gold, made their entry. She was met, amongst the rest, by the Lady Mary, late Queen of France, and accompanied also by 200 Spanish ladies dressed according to their own fashion, but with long thin veils and small caps on their heads as worn in Flanders, with flaps (*coste*) and double brims, also in the Flemish fashion, some white, some green, and some tawney. These ladies were not handsome, but graceful (*gratiate*), and very attractive from their Spanish costume.

On the morrow, Whit Monday, at the hour of mass, the King accompanied by the ambassadors, and with no less pompous a retinue than on the preceding day, came from the abbey (his abode) to the cathedral; inside which, near the door, he awaited the Emperor and his train; and after they had embraced, placing him on the right hand, he took him to the high altar to the appointed pew.

Shortly after, the Queens came—first the Queen of England; and then Queen Germaine, and the Lady Mary, the former being on the right hand as a mark of honour for a foreigner, and she was accompanied to her abode by 120 ladies, besides the 20 Spanish dames, all most richly arrayed.

The Emperor wore a doublet, half of silver brocade, and half of alternate stripes of gold and silver, over which he had a gown of gold brocade lined with sables.

The King of England wore a simar, one half of cloth of gold and the other half of grey velvet, girt with a jewelled belt; the simar was slashed across in about six compartments, and joined by a quantity of buttons, all of which were balass rubies, sapphires, diamonds, and other sorts of jewels, and round his neck he had a jewelled collar, said to be worth more than 10,000 ducats. His cap or bonnet of black velvet was edged and covered with white feathers.

The Queen wore a petticoat of cloth of gold with a black ground, slashed and laced with gold and black cords, at whose extremities, in lieu of tags, there hung pearls and jewels, her gown being one half of cloth of gold and the other half of violet velvet with a raised pile, the flowers in relief being embroidered with gold thread and pearls. Her head dress was in the Flemish fashion with a long veil and no cap, which gave her additional grace. Round her neck were five large strings of pearls, with a pendent St. George on horseback slaying the dragon, all in diamonds.

Queen Germaine was dressed in cloth of gold in the Flemish fashion.

The Queen Mary in cloth of silver lama.

In the Emperor's company was the Prince of Orange, a youth about 18 years of age. His entire costume—doublet, hose, and shoes—

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was all of silver lama, striped longitudinally with cloth of gold; and so wide were the sleeves of his doublet, which were lined with cloth of gold lama, that they almost touched the ground; and the hose and doublet joined in jacket fashion, with three plaits; his shirt being of red murrey sarsnet, which contrasted admirably with his white arms.

The mass was celebrated in state, and the Sovereigns being then accompanied to the Emperor's chamber, their Majesties dined together. The Emperor sat at the centre of the table; on his left the King; to the right of the Emperor, the Queen of England; to the left of the King, the Lady Mary; and to the right of Queen Katharine, Queen Germaine.

After dinner there was dancing for a long while, and the King danced, but not the Emperor.

Then in the evening about an hour after dusk, both the Venetian ambassadors were conducted from their lodging, in the King's name, by two knights, and on arriving at the court, entered a large hall on the ground floor of the palace inhabited by the Emperor, where three tables had been prepared, two lengthwise, and one at the head of the hall. There they met the French ambassador likewise, and after waiting a while, their Majesties came down stairs, and the water for the hands was given thus:

The Emperor and the King and Queen of England washed together by themselves. The Duke of Suffolk brought a large gold basin with a cover bearing a crown, in the centre of which was a small cup, and when this had been removed by the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Brandenburg's brother,* who had accompanied the Emperor, took off the cover, holding it under the basin borne by the Duke of Suffolk; whereupon the Duke of Buckingham gave the water in the cup to drink to the Duke of Suffolk, who having thus made the assay, then poured the water from his basin, which had an aperture or mouth at the side, over the hands of the Sovereigns, to whom the brother of the Count Palatine of the Rhine (he likewise being in the Emperor's train) presented the towel.

The Emperor and the King and Queen then sat down to table; the Emperor in the centre, and the King on the left, both on very stately gilt chairs; the Queen sitting on the right, but on a low chair.

After this the second gold basin was brought, also with a cover, but without any crown, by the son of the Earl of Northumberland; the cup for the assay was borne by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Marquis of Dorset uncovered it, the towel being presented by the old Duke of Norfolk.

The right reverend Cardinal of York, Queen Germaine and the Lady Mary, having washed their hands together,† seated themselves

* John of Brandenburg, the consort of Germaine de Foix.

† "And the Cardinall hymself was so elated that he thought hymself egall with the Kyng; and when he said masse he made Dukes and Erles to serve him of wyne with asay taken, and to holde the bason at the lavatories" (See Hall, p. 593). Sanuto shows that at banquets, as well as at mass, Cardinal Wolsey exacted the "assay."

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at table, and the Cardinal to the right of Queen Katharine, but there was space between them for another chair. To the right of the Cardinal was Queen Germaine, and to the left of the King, his sister, Queen Mary, these six sitting at the table placed at the head of the hall.

Then at the second table, to the right of the centre table, there sat first of all, the French ambassador, with a Spanish dame, Señora Doña Maria, the daughter of a Count of Spain; next came the Venetian ambassador, Surian, with the Duchess of Norfolk, and then the brother of the Count Palatine, with the daughter of the Duke of Buckingham;* the other lords pairing in like manner with the Spanish and English ladies.

The first place at the table on the left was that of the Venetian ambassador, Cornaro, resident with the Emperor. He paired with a lady, and next sat the Duke of Alva, with the other lords and ladies.

The banquet was most sumptuous, the tables being surrounded by enamoured youths (*gioveni innamorati*), who stood behind the ladies; and amongst the rest, certain Spaniards played the lovers' part so bravely that nothing could have been better (*nihil supra*). One of them, the Count of Capra, made love so heartily, that he had a fainting fit, or swooned for his mistress, and was carried out by the hands and feet until he recovered himself.

The viands were so numerous that the banquet lasted four hours, after which the tables being removed, dancing commenced, and the ball was opened by the Duke of Alva, a sexagenarian, but still amorous. He danced with a Spanish lady, his favorite, not handsome, but beyond measure graceful.

The ball throughout was "the Gloves of Spain" (*sic*), with a very gay finale to the sound of the fife. The dress of the Duke's sweetheart would be long to describe, but the Duke himself wore a small cap of tawney cloth, with a green silk tassel across the cap which he cocked to the left, in the Ghibelline fashion.

The next dance was performed by the enamoured Count of Capra.

The third by another Spanish count.

The fourth by the King; and the last was performed, and admirably, by the Prince of Bisignano, all dancing in the Spanish fashion, and the ball ending when it was broad daylight.

On the morrow, Tuesday, the Emperor and the King rested part of the day, and then sat in council until late in the evening, when, at about an hour after sunset, the Emperor quitted Canterbury, accompanied by the King and Cardinal, without the ambassadors, who were told to remain behind, though all the rest of the royal retinue followed by torchlight, the torches not being many, but of wax, and very long indeed, in the English fashion; and having quitted Canterbury together, their Majesties took leave of each other five miles thence. The Emperor however was accompanied towards Sandwich by Cardinal Wolsey; the King proceeding to Dover; the

* The Duke of Buckingham had three daughters, the Countess of Surrey, the Countess of Westmoreland, and Lady Abergavenny.

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Queens also doing the like, and Queen Germaine taking leave of Queen Katharine.

The Field of Cloth of Gold.

The King and Queen and the court quitted Dover with 27 ships and arrived at Calais at noon, after a very calm passage.

On the 5th of June, the King, accompanied by the ambassadors and the rest of the court, quitted Calais in the evening, and arrived at the Castle of Guisnes, where, amongst other things, he had built a palace beyond the fortress, with a basement of stone four feet above ground, and the rest of timber; the partition walls and roof being of canvas.

The chambers of Queen Katharine were hung with tapestry of silk and gold representing the most minute foliage, the most beautiful that the eye of man ever beheld; and it cost seven ducats per yard.

In this palace were two oratories, both looking into the large chapel, and both with hangings; the first of cloth of gold with green velvet, and the King's badge of roses with the garter, quartered with lilies. In each of these two oratories were six images of massive gold, more than one cubit high, and two gold basins each worth 3,000 ducats, two gold censers, two gold boats containing insense (*navicelle*), two candlesticks, and a chalice also of gold; and this for each of the oratories, one of which was for the King and the other for the Queen, and each had a pew in the English fashion. The King's pew was of cloth of gold; the Queen's of crimson velvet with a raised pile.

In the King's oratory on the altar, besides the things already mentioned, were six jewelled images:—a St. George on horseback, smiting the dragon, and a St. Christopher with the infant on his shoulder, both of which were of diamonds; a Nativity (*presepio*) of various jewels; a St. Ursula with her companions, a St. Katharine, and a St. Barbara; all which things were worth a world of gold.

The large chapel was entirely covered and hung with cloth of gold and green velvet; and the twelve apostles in gold, and a crucifix three feet high, were on the altar.

On one side of the palace a corridor leads to the door of the palace at Guisnes, through which the King can pass to and fro at his pleasure.

It having been arranged that the conference between the Kings of France and England should take place on the 7th of June, the King of England at the 21st hour quitted Guisnes, accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey, who rode beside him; then came the Papal Nuncio with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Spanish ambassador with the Duke of Buckingham, and the Venetian ambassador with the Duke of Suffolk. The rest of the lords and gentlemen followed, about 500 in number, all splendidly attired in cloth of gold and silk. The King wore a simar of silver brocade, joined with silver cords, from the extremities of which hung beautiful pendent jewels, and round his neck he wore a jewelled collar of great price. This band [of 500] in part preceded, and in part followed the King in pairs.

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On the [left hand] side of the King was his guard, 500 in number, dressed in doublets of white and green velvet in checquers, with the royal badge of the rose embroidered on their breasts, and with halberts in their hands. They headed a squadron of 4,000 footmen, a force so imposing that it caused some suspicion on the part of the French, who sent officials to inspect the number of the band, and ascertain whether it was armed, who found the men were without arms, according to the articles. The English in their turn made a similar inspection of the French.

At length, both parties, English and French, being assured, marched forward to a hill, at the bottom of which is a pleasant valley, called "*Vallis Aurea.*" On this hill the King of England halted, and the whole retinue formed a ring; the like being done by the most Christian King on his reaching the opposite hill, which also looked on the valley, in whose hollow a tent had been pitched, covered with cloth of gold, and an awning. The ambassadors having halted on the hill, the King of England caused the sword borne by the Marquis [of Dorset] to be unsheathed, and his Majesty, with Cardinal Wolsey alone, on horseback descended into the valley, with the Master of the Horse [Sir Henry Guylford] on foot, in a doublet of cloth of gold, and Sir Richard Wingfield, English ambassador to the King of France, from whom he had then arrived, dressed in a simar of brocatel, which his most Christian Majesty had given him.

These three (*sic*) descended into the valley, and the most Christian King did the like from the opposite direction, he by himself on horseback, and the Lord High Constable [Bourbon] on foot with the drawn sword, the Lord Admiral [Bonnivet] with the badge and the whistle, and the Master of the Horse [San Severino] on foot.

The Kings on arriving in the valley below, and drawing nigh, saluted each other cap in hand, and then embraced very lovingly on horseback; after which, having dismounted, they embraced again, and entered the tent accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey. They re-remained there in private for half an hour, after which, on coming out, they again embraced each other repeatedly, and having mounted their horses, took loving leave, and with music and great rejoicing each went in his own direction; the most Christian King to Ardres, and the English King to Guisnes; it being sunset when they got home.

Note by Sanuto, that the Mantuan ambassador in France, who was present there, transmitted this account.

On Saturday the 9th, in the afternoon, the two Kings again met, in the field appointed for the joust, situated a short mile, in the direction of Ardres, from the spot where the first interview was held. It was a large square of greater length than width, enclosed by a ditch and dike, the entrances being to the front, with bars to correspond. On each of the sides within were stages for the spectators, and in the centre was the tilt-yard, with its lists, and at the extremity towards the English [Pale?] two chambers were erected, one on each side, well and richly furnished for the accommodation of the Kings to arm and rest themselves.

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At this extremity, beyond the ditch, was another square on each side, where tents and pavilions were pitched for the service of the jousters; those of either nation having their own side, and passing from the houses of their respective sovereigns into the square by the esplanade of the ditch, which is sufficiently wide for the passage.

At the end of the tilt-yard, in the direction of the two houses, there was a tree resembling an elm, around which was a square mound, the height of a man on horseback, but of timber covered with green damask. The trunk was clad in cloth of gold, as likewise two large branches affixed to the sides; and at the summit of the mound or bank were the rests for the heralds, and for the shields and arms of the jousters.

Into this place, and from this side, the King of England made his entry with fifty knights and lords, summoned according to a roll in the hands of one of his officials.

Then, from the other corresponding side, the King of France made his entry, summoning an equal number of his own subjects.

At the English entrance were the French infantry archers, and at the French entrance the English; and others patrolled the environs on horseback, with orders not to allow anyone to cross the ditch, even should it be requisite to enforce them by death.

When the two Kings met on the ground, they lowered their spears, saluting each other lovingly as usual, and then commenced making their own horses, and those of their companions gallop, jump, and wheel; after which two heralds brought two shields, one with the arms of England, the other with those of France, and carried them round the tilt-yard, preceded by 30 trumpeters and 22 heralds, and then went to the trunk of the tree under its branches, the French shield being on the right hand, as also was the French house.* On this day the two King exchanged coursers.

Beneath the royal shields were three others, one striped longitudinally tawney and murrey, with an inscription in French in gold letters, signifying "*For the courses to be run in the tilt-yard.*" The second shield was in like manner striped, yellow and white, with the inscription "*For Tourney.*" The third shield was all silvered white, with the inscription "*For the battle on foot at the bars.*"†

Around the rails of the mound were placed the badges of all the lords and knights who were to tilt, together with their names.

Whilst this was doing, Cardinal Wolsey arrived from Ardres, where he had been to dine with Madame [Louise of Savoy]; and the Kings, having already dismounted, and being inside King Henry's house, the Cardinal joined them there. They remained in conference for half an hour, and then, remounting their horses, returned to their quarters.

On Sunday the 10th the King of France was banqueted by the Queen of England [Katharine]; the French Queen [Claude] doing the like by the King of England.

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* As already stated, Henry VIII. gave the right hand to Francis I., because the ground was English.

† In the original "*Pour il bagordo.*" My translation of the word is derived from Hall's general account of the challenges.

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The English banqueting chamber was hung with most beautiful tapestry, such as never had been seen before, worth some 15,000 ducats, representing foliage.

Each course consisted of 50 double dishes, that is to say, with covers, all of silver gilt except those presented to the King, which were of gold, and they went so often to the kitchen that to count the times was impossible.

Beyond this chamber was a hall, 750 feet in length, where 134 ladies dined, with about twenty gentlemen in their company, as a mark of honour, according to the custom of England, but all Englishmen of rank.*

Besides this hall there was another of the same dimensions, in which the gentlemen dined, in number upwards of 200. In a chamber corresponding to the first the Duke of Bourbon, Lord High Constable, and the Admiral [Bonnivet], with all the great French personages, dined, with a few Englishmen of rank; and thus there were tables from place to place, and from grade to grade. In Cardinal Wolsey's apartments, the Bishop of Paris [Stephen Poncher], and all the French prelates and priests dined; and in each of these places were cupboards of most beautiful and costly gold plate. Then all over the house below, and about the courtyard, victuals were served; the abundance of food and wine being so great that the people choked themselves. In front of the first gate there was a fountain, which spouted wine during five hours for all comers.

King Francis and Queen Katharine having finished their repast above, came into the hall, and dancing commenced to the sound of the tabour, and pipe, and viol; the first dance being performed by the Lady Mary with a French nobleman.

After this, King Francis having brought with him his fifers and trombone players, who are excellent, had a dance performed in the Italian fashion, and danced with the sweetheart (*innamorata*) of one of the hostages given by him to the King of England, by name Montpézat, an accomplished woman (*una brava dona*), and the handsomest in the company;† and some 20 couple danced. The ball being ended, the King with very great gallantry kissed all the damsels; and the crowd became so great that their Majesties withdrew to the banqueting room, where they danced until the signal for departure at the 23rd hour.

On Monday the 11th they went to the joust at about the 20th hour. The King and Queen of England arrived first; and the Queen was with the Lady Mary in a litter of crimson satin embroidered with gold knots and foliage, the horses which carried it being trapped in like manner. Two led palfries with empty saddles and two empty litters followed; then three waggons (*carete*), drawn by four horses

* From the general tenour of these notices it may be inferred that the twenty gentlemen were not seated at table, but stood behind the ladies like the "enamoured youths" at Canterbury.

† As will be seen in date of Saturday 16th June, the sweetheart of Mons. de Montpézat bore the name of Browne,—probably Anne Browne. (See Hall, p. 595, and Rutland Papers, p. 38.)

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one before the other. After the waggons came 30 ladies well-dressed but ugly.

The Kings, having armed themselves, came forth from their houses, each accompanied by seven companions in livery. The dress and horse furniture of the King of France were covered with slashes, and certain circles, destined apparently for a feather, with the motto, "*De vous peut être.*"

The Queen of France and Madame [Louise] were in a litter of cloth of silver, followed by Madame's litter of black velvet, and by 20 damsels on palfreys, after whom came three waggons, covered in like manner, as also the horses, and another black litter, after which 30 ladies on horseback, well appointed. The Queen having dismounted, and ascended the stage where the Queen of England was, the Duke of Alençon entered the lists with nine companions, all in silver tissue, with gold scrolls and black letters, which were illegible, his lance-servants being all dressed in white in like manner.

This band commenced tilting against the 16 challengers, first of all against the King of France, and then against the King of England, and the others in succession. The encounters were not fierce at first, but improved subsequently. The King of France rode a good and well-trained chesnut (*razinato rosso*) courser; the King of England a bay; King Francis tilted much; King Henry but little, having sprained his hand.

The 10 knights having run their courses, the Admiral of France entered the lists, with nine companions in a livery one half of murrey velvet, the other of gold brocade and silver tissue in checquers, with an anchor and an illegible motto, and with plumes of the same colours. When they had tilted it was time to depart; and as it threatened rain and was late, many proceeded towards their lodgings, but not in time to escape the shower, which drenched them thoroughly. On the 12th the jousting was resumed, but without any remarkable display, save that of a company of 11 in black, yellow, and white—the black, velvet, the yellow, gold brocade, and the white, silver; their surcoats being trapped with a white cord on the black, yellow on the white, and black on the yellow; but they jousted no better than the first. Their weapons were battle-arms and spears, with not very large buttons at the points, but they hit seldom.

On Wednesday the 13th they went to the ground, but there was such a high wind and so much dust, it was impossible to tilt; though there was a fine wrestling match between these English and French.

On Thursday the 14th, the two Kings and their companies kept the field. The King of England wore a woman's sleeve, with embroidery, in lieu of a plume, as did his companions. The King of France had an L embroidered in silver all over his apparel, and the word "*Quando,*" in italics; and he rode a light grey Neapolitan courser.

The opponents were first a band of 10, followed by the company of Mons. de L'Escu, who was in gallant trim on a courser trapped with black velvet and brocatel, all slashed in checquers; and where the velvet was above the brocatel was beneath, and in like manner beneath the brocatel was the velvet; and from his shoulders there

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hung a hood or mantle in the olden fashion, which fastened to the left shoulder and hung over to the right, a costume recently brought into fashion again, as if to serve for a capuche, but of a different shape. He came immediately in advance of his 10 companions, sword in hand, turning about in front of them as if to keep them in order; and when he came in front of the Queens he made his horse courtsey twice, and went round the yard making this display.

This company having tilted, it was then time to depart, and no great feats performed on that day; but the King of England bore himself well.*

After Mons. de L'Escu had tilted, he presented himself to the English King, who was running a course; and having dismounted and kissed his Majesty's hand, gave him his courser, the King having previously admired it.

On Friday the 15th there was tilting as usual, but owing to the rain and wind, there were not many spectators present, nor did the King tilt.

On Saturday the 16th two bands of Englishmen, numbering 11 each, presented themselves against the challengers. The colours of of the first band where white, yellow, and azure, all being dressed in brocade and velvet; and one of them, Master Browne by name,† the brother of that beautiful English girl, had for his opponent, the most Christian King, who on that day wore a surcoat of brocatel, barded with violet velvet, embroidered with silver knots, on the fields of which were open books of silver embroidery with black letters thus, $\overset{m}{\boxed{A \quad E}}$.

All the King's companions bore the same device, which might apparently be interpreted "*Libera me.*" ‡

The King of England, with his band, wore yellow, russet, and white, but with various devices.

The second band of Englishmen presented itself in white, red, and azure, with 21 stirrup men. The white was silver tissue, the red crimson, the azure velvet, with gold flames and various devices in embroidery for the surcoats, amongst which was one representing a heart on fire, and above a hand with a garden water-pot for watering flowers, quenching it, with the motto, "*pour reveiller.*" Another was all covered with white feathers in embroidery, but all severed in the centre, with a motto thus, "*votre merci.*" In this band one of the knights wore apparel covered with Greek B's encircled by a pen, on whose quill was written "*eterna.*"

In this band was the younger son of the Duke of Norfolk,§ who tilted against the King [of England]. This was the last day of the jousts, and the combatants behaved very well indeed, and shivered almost all the staves.

The King of France received a hurt on the temple and eye—some said from a blow of a spear—others from his horse's head-piece,

* "Pur il Re Anglese si portò bene." The Mantuan ambassador does not pay Henry VIII. any similar compliment.

† Sir Weston Browne. (See Rutland Papers, p. 31.)

‡ The bar was meant to represent a *fetter*. (See Hall, p. 614.)

§ Lord Edmond Howard. (See Hall, p. 614, and Collins, vol. i. p. 84.)

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which being loose, struck him when mounting. He was seen without his helmet in front of his mother and of the Queens, with a black eye and a black patch.*

It was said that on the preceding day, one brother tilting against the other (they were Frenchmen), received such a blow on the head that today he died.

On Sunday, the 17th, Madame, the [French King's] mother, came to dine at Guisnes, and King Francis having anticipated the hour, was in the courtyard of the castle with a few of his followers before King Henry knew of his arrival, to the surprise of well nigh everybody. The English King, however, hastened to meet him, and they embraced, King Francis saying, "My Lord, I am your prisoner;" and after very great greetings they went out of the palace together, and went to mass in the adjoining chapel, which is very gorgeous and magnificent, all glittering with gold. After mass King Henry went to Ardres to dine with the Queen of France, taking with him his sister the Lady Mary, and his company, King Francis dining here [at Guisnes] in the King's apartment. His mother dined with Queen Katharine and Cardinal Wolsey in his own apartments, with a numerous company of French lords and gentlemen. The halls were full, one of men, the other of ladies; and, as usual, there was very great abundance of good cheer, and vast pomp.

After dinner, there was dancing in the French fashion before the Queens (*sic*), and in a little while 10 couples of masquers made their appearance in long gowns of velvet and satin, with plumes and hoods. Amongst them was King Francis, in a russet-coloured garment bordered with white, both he and his companion; and to the sound of fifes (*pifari*) they performed a dance, said to be in the Ferrarese fashion, the most Christian King dancing with that my Lady Browne ("*con quella milade Brun*") with whom he danced the last time.

King Francis then conversed with the Queen, and with Madame de Chateaubriand, and passed the day thus until the hour of departure, and on his way back met the King of England returning from the dinner and entertainment at Ardres, where he had been with the Queen of France. King Henry was accompanied only by his fellow masquers in their dresses, 30 in number; 10 in long gowns of cloth of gold, 10 in the Greek costume, violet velvet lined with vair, and 10 in the Swiss fashion, with their plumes and short garments, but slashed with silk and brocade.

The feat performed by the French King, coming as he did to Guisnes so confidently, was remarkable, and King Henry, whilst dining at Ardres and narrating it, said that by his faith the King his brother had shown such truth and love towards him, that he should never

* If Francis I. received these injuries whilst tilting, they must have been inflicted by the spear of Sir Weston Browne; and the story of the horse's head-piece, was perhaps invented to save the King's credit as a jouster. From a variety of entries in Sanuto's Diaries, I gather that the particulars in this narrative, such at least as relate especially to England and the English, were derived from a journal kept by the Venetian secretary at the Court of Henry VIII., Lodovico Spinelli, whose account must be compared with that of the Mantuan ambassador, Soardino. The accomplished Anne Browne vindicates the beauty of the women of England, which Soardino disparaged; and her brother Weston was no less formidable a jouster than the Marquis of Saluzzo, whose prowess alone is vaunted by Soardino, to the exclusion of Henry VIII. and Sir Weston Browne.

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forget it; and that there was nothing he would not do for him at all times, both personally and through his kingdom, against anysoever. Be it also known, that when the most Christian King arrived at Guisnes this morning, the King of England took from his neck a jewelled collar worth 30,000 (*sic*) ducats, receiving in exchange from King Francis a jewelled bracelet of less value, but very handsome, a mark of very great love and mutual goodwill.

On Monday, the 18th, Cardinal Wolsey went to dine with Madame, and then came to the joust. The bands were nine in number, and after they had tilted, six coursers were brought to the ground and exhibited by a rider in the service of the Marquis of Mantua, the horses being, however, selected by the French Master of the Horse [Galeazzo di San Severino]. They were given by the most Christian King to the King of England, four of them having come from Mantua, and King Henry mounted three of them immediately, and rode them, and, being good and well trapped, they pleased him much.

On Tuesday, the 19th, Cardinal Wolsey gave a banquet to the French and English prelates here at the Court, including Stafileo, the Papal Nuncio, resident with his most Christian Majesty, and during the repast they discussed the Turkish news, and Stafileo greatly praised the Signory and the Venetian Republic and their government.

On this same morning King Henry went unexpectedly to dine at Ardres, with a very small retinue and without any guard; and then after dinner they came to the joust, where each ran a good 22 or 24 courses. The French King wore his white and violet suit, with the following motto, "*Thus will the bear be.*"* And this day the jousts ended, and were followed by battle on foot at the bars, and tournaments, as follows.

On Wednesday, the 20th, the Kings presented themselves on the field with their bands.

The King of France was dressed in cloth of silver, embroidered all over in silver with clouds, shaded with murrey silk, edged with a label bearing the words "*Tanquam nubes igne crepans.*" His plumes were white with purple tufts.

On the right side the King of England was dressed entirely in stiff brocade, on the left in russet velvet; and he had a St. George on horseback, with the dragon under his feet and the maiden in front of him; besides red hearts transfixed by a dart, and a hand in the act of launching an arrow; all embroidered in gold.

Against the knights, the keepers of the field, there came in succession all the bands which had jousted, and one by one attacked one of the keepers, rebated sword in hand, dealing lusty and valorous blows one and all. The King of France was the first, and the first stroke carried away his plume. The King of England came next, and thus each combatant in turn, the battle being renewed according to the need.

Those who made their appearance were about 50, and after they

* "Così l'orso serà."

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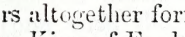
had all fought, they gave place to the master of the horse of France, who, being mounted on a Spanish jennet, covered and trapped entirely with gold brocade, he himself being armed as a light horseman, with stirrups and saddle jennet fashion, and wearing a short and close-fitting surcoat of brocade, ran a course with a thick spear a good four fingers in diameter at the extremity, and then repeated the feat; after which he dismounted, leaving the spear and horse for any one who might choose to run in like manner, but as no one came forward, he did himself great honour. The entertainment was thus brought to a close, and will be resumed tomorrow.

On Thursday the battle was renewed, the Kings appearing with their usual companions. King Francis had his surcoats of brocatel, striped and trimmed with black velvet, and on the border were small squares embroidered in silver, shaded with black silk, each square being inscribed with a Latin letter, joined together by a small silver lacet, thus  , a very elegant design; and the letters altogether formed the word "*Reciproce.*"

The King of England and his band had surcoats of silver tissue, edged with gold brocade, the ground representing hillocks of gold, from which sprouted leafy branches resembling the olive, all of gold lama or of some other gilt material, but said to be of gold, tied and bound so that they could not fall, and making a marvellous and costly show.

The opposing bands presented themselves as on the preceding day, and bore themselves bravely, the challengers showing equal prowess, amongst which last the Kings really displayed greater valour and courage than the rest, shattering plate armour, corselets, and swords, and making the steel weapons strike sparks and fire in the air, in a fashion worthy of eternal record. And thus ended the second mode of fighting [tournament wise]; and tomorrow they will fight on foot [at the bars]; after which, it is supposed that the clang of arms and the noise of trumpets and drums will cease.

On Friday, the 22d, the challengers presented themselves on foot, with the exception of the Kings, who on this day chose to witness the feats of their knights.

In front of the Queens' stage was a square stockade, with sufficient space for 10 couple of men, and in its centre a long bar, about three feet high, with two side bars.

Within these bars the challengers presented themselves on foot.

The band of the French King wore doublets of silver tissue and purple velvet, and of other checquered velvet, murrey and yellow, alternate breadths, and with white and murrey plumes.

The band of the King of England wore biparted doublets of stiff gold brocade and russet velvet, embroidered.

The opposing bands presented themselves at the bar, two at a time carrying rebated spears, with which the combatants fought against each other until the spears broke, and then cudgelled each other with the stumps, showering heavy two-handed blows on each other's heads and shoulders. At length, when separated by the side-bars swung by four men,—there being two for the purpose at each extremity,—they then hurled the fragments remaining in their

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After the spears, they next fought with swords, making in like manner fierce and desperate strokes, two by two, until the hour arrived for returning home.

On Saturday, the 23rd, a chapel was prepared in front of the stage from which the jousts had been witnessed, and connected with it, at its upper end; and although erected in the course of one single night,* yet was it, nevertheless, costly and all glittering with gold. Here Cardinal Wolsey said mass, being served by (*con il servitio del*) the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Durham, and several other English bishops; there being present four Cardinals of France, and other French bishops, two Apostolic nuncios, an Imperial ambassador (also a bishop), three Venetian ambassadors (one with the King of England and two with the King of France), one from the Duke of Lorraine, one from the Duke of Ferrara, and one from the Marquis of Mantua, all of whom sat in their places on the stage where the altar was raised.

Opposite to the altar, on the stage from which they had viewed the jousts, the Queens sat in separate pews, royally apparelled, and on every side, the whole length of the stage, were lords and ladies, ranged according to their rank, the two Kings going processionally to their appointed places.

The service of the mass was very magnificent. First of all the apparelling of Cardinal Wolsey was performed by bishops, who also placed on his feet a pair of very valuable jewelled sandals. The water for his hands was given him by some of the chief noblemen of England.† The French and English singers chaunted, with occasional accompaniments of trombones, cornets, and organs.

After the elevation, the Eucharist was seen in the air floating over the tilt yard, no one perceiving whence it issued nor who propelled it, to the height of a tall tower, and even beyond, for it travelled half a mile, to the surprise of those who did not know how it was done.‡

The mass being ended, Pace, the chief secretary of the King of England, proclaimed the plenary indulgence conceded to all who had attended this mass, saying that such divine service had been performed to the glory of God, and of this noble meeting, beseeching him, of his infinite goodness, to be pleased to render this peace between the two Kings perpetual.

After this the Kings went to dine together, the Queens doing the like by themselves, as also did all the five Cardinals, together with some prelates, and all in sundry compartments of the stage, which had been decorated and prepared for this purpose; and it was marvellous how in the open country they could have provided so conveniently and in so short a time for such a great banquet, for

* See also Rutland Papers, p. 46.
† See also Hall, p. 593.
‡ The writer does not explain the mode of the performance of this ascent.

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all ate at the same time, and each place had its kitchens and butteries and necessary offices beyond the ditch of the tilt yard under awnings and tents. All the other lords, barons, and courtiers ate in this place in like manner apart at their respective tables, and during the repast all the musicians here, namely, trumpeters, and players on the cornet, sourdine, trombone, fife, tabor, viol, and "*tuifolo*," each in their turn; and after the repast the combat recommenced on foot, as above, with spears, and at the close they fought with two-handed swords.

On Sunday, the 24th, each King dined with the Queen of the other; King Francis making his appearance at Guisnes with 20 companions, all in gowns and masked, with whom were 20 young French ladies, dressed in the Italian fashion with velvet caps, round which were feathers. The masquers were almost all dressed in brocade and tissue of silver and gold, the ladies likewise being richly attired.

These 20 with their ladies dined all together with the King, and at the appointed hour entered the chamber of Queen Katharine, and each with his female partner danced to the sound of fifes.

King Francis wore a garment of murrey brocatel, with a hood and hat in the German fashion with yellow and murrey feathers; and having danced awhile he approached the Queen, and having conversed with her for half an hour, went and changed his dress.

In the mean while the Queen gave orders to make presents to some of the jousters, a reckoning having been made of their strokes and exploits, by the master heralds and by the judges; so written billets were given accordingly to three or four, they being informed thereby, from whom they were to receive these presents; this service being performed by an official of the Queen's household. It was not possible to ascertain each article, but the total consisted of jewels, or rings, or collars, and the like, the particulars of which will be known more distinctly hereafter.

When King Francis reappeared unmasked, he wore some very large and exquisite emeralds on his breast, there being also a great number of very fine ones in his sleeves and apparel; and he had a black French cape of satin and velvet, slashed, and with gold embroidery.

Talking thus with the Queen, he in the evening took leave of her, kissing all her ladies one by one; after which he departed with his companions for Ardres, to which place the King of England in like manner had betaken himself with 20 of his attendants masked, and an equal number of English ladies; the Queen of France on her part also, making presents to the Englishmen who had distinguished themselves on the field as challengers or answerers.

Thus ended these games and pageants, which were very grand and magnificent, both with regard to the furniture and decoration of the edifices, and the amount and rank of the persons present, who were so numerous on both sides, and so sumptuously supplied with apparel, jewels, arms, collars, horses, and attendants, as to be inconceivable; nor is it supposed that in our time a similar display was ever witnessed, or that the like will be seen for many a day to come. At this interview the wealth, courtesy, and valour of the

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two nations were manifested in the noblest mode and fashion, of which, although many striking instances might be written in detail, yet did the reality far exceed them; nor may any one suppose that what has been written is the whole, for it could not be expressed by any memory, however vivid, though aided by the readiest of pens, for the grandeur, address, personal beauty, manners, fashions, deeds, and words, of these two most powerful Kings, in the field, at table, in conversation, at audience, and during amusements and "*serizi*" (*sic*),* were altogether remarkable and incredible.

Second Interview between the King of England and the Emperor.

After much negotiation from the 4th to the 9th of July between Cardinal Wolsey and Mons. de Chièvres, it was at length agreed that the King of England should leave Calais on the 10th of July with all his retinue, and proceed towards Gravelines, a place belonging to the French lady, Madame de Vendome, but under the jurisdiction of the Catholic King, in Flanders, at a distance of two miles from Calais. A spear, having on its point a scarlet bonnet or cap, was set up in the middle of a small valley. Towards this signal the King of England went from the Calais side,† and the Emperor from the other; and having embraced each other cap in hand very lovingly, and after much resistance made by the Emperor, who would not take precedence, but at length being told that he must do so whilst within the English Pale, he took the right hand, and proceeded thus towards Gravelines. On crossing a stream, and arriving within the jurisdiction of Flanders, the Emperor placed the King on the right hand as a mark of honour. That night they remained at Gravelines, and departed on the 11th after dinner, and came to Calais. The Emperor wore a doublet of gold brocade, chequered with silver brocade; and the King of England had a simar with a "*galeto*" well nigh in the Spanish fashion. They were accompanied by Madame Margaret, the Emperor's aunt, in a covered litter of black velvet, and arrived at Calais in the evening.

Behind her litter were 40 ladies and a waggon (*careta*), and another litter in like manner black. All the ladies were dressed in black velvet, and they were all young and handsome except one, who seemed rather graceful notwithstanding her ugliness.

They entered Calais by the Boulogne gate, and after their entry passed the portal of the royal palace,‡ where the Queen of England had arrived. She greeted her nephew, the Emperor, and Madame Margaret, who shortly afterwards took leave, and was escorted to the palace of the "Staple of Calais," a very handsome structure,§ accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey. After a while, the Emperor likewise followed her thither, and there they lodged and supped. And on that evening a gentleman of King Francis' chamber, Mons. de Montmorenci, arrived from the Court of France, whom King

* Qu. "scherzi"; *i.e.* sports or merrymaking.
† The Venetian seems to have been writing at Calais.
‡ "The Checker" (see Hall, p. 621).
§ "Staple Hall" (see Hall, p. 621).

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Henry took with him, masked, to the Emperor, visiting the ladies and dancing a part of the night.

On Thursday the 12th, the King and Queen dined with the Emperor and Madame Margaret at Staple Hall; and in the evening a great banquet was to have been given in an amphitheatre recently erected for this purpose by the King, but the canvas roof having been blown off by a heavy gale of wind, it became requisite to change the site, and the banquet was served in the King's house,* but confusedly, by reason of the narrow space: and also in a private manner, for there were only a few personages present, not even the ambassadors. As the design of this theatre was very handsome, it must be described.†

In front of the King's house [the Checker?] is a fine open space formed by the demolition of sundry buildings, on which spot they constructed this edifice entirely of timber. It has 16 fronts,‡ and its height and diameter measure each upwards of 250 feet. In the centre of the building is the tall mast of a ship, supported by other masts, the mainmast rising to a sufficient height above the walls for the formation of a handsome and well proportioned covering, like a pavilion. Around the summit of the mainmast are two iron hoops with rings, one hoop being lower than the other, from which hoops ropes are drawn to the walls all round, and thereon rests the canvas covering. Beneath the uppermost hoop the ropes, drawn in like manner from the lower one, support another sort of azure-coloured canvas, which forms the ceiling, being decorated with gold stars and planets of looking glass.

Around the walls below the ceiling are three tiers of balconies or stages, eight or nine feet deep, the parapet in front being of the height of a man's waist, and the tiers raised 10 feet one above the other, with sloping floors, so that the last look over the first, and behold conveniently what is passing on the ground floor.

These tiers are spacious, and intended for the convenience of the spectators, musicians, trumpeters, &c.

On the external parapet (*margine esteriore*) of the uppermost tier was represented a landscape of mountains, woods, forests, and meadows in relief, all of taffety, delightfully true to nature, with circles and elevations and inequalities; after which, farther inwards, well nigh on a level with the upper part of the back of the tier was an artificial sea of canvas with azure waves, and above the sea sky and clouds and blowing winds, and above the sky flames and gilt ornaments and roses, these representations being continued round the walls in the form of circular globes, on each of which were some of its peculiar attributes. On the earth were windmills, towers, houses, trees, and animals; in the water and in the sea ships, fishes, and marine monsters; in the air, clouds and winds and birds; and on this aerial globe were inscribed many propositions and sayings of Aristotle, as in his "Meteors," concerning the cause of the winds

* "The Checker" (see Hall, p. 621).

† The Venetian secretary's account of this banqueting house contains many particulars omitted by Hall, and which are not supplied by the Chronicle of Calais, pp. 29, 30.

‡ "*Sedece faze.*" In the Chronicle of Calais, "xvi. *principals.*"

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and clouds, and the like. In the last globe of fire there was nothing, because (I believe) in England they are still of opinion that fire does not generate or nourish any animal soever. The parapet of the balconies on which the spectators leant was covered with white cloth, hanging over the length of two yards, like tapestry, with a border of green ivy all round, and in the centre of the field were large white roses and gilt rosettes; each of the three tiers being decorated in like manner. From the ceiling there hung large chandeliers at each angle of the theatre, and between every two chandeliers there was a human figure in the air of wicker-work, and covered and clad with silk or cloth, and bearing torches in their hands, all in different costumes, and of alternate sexes, man and woman. Below these lights were cornucopias, with foliage, which likewise served for candlesticks, being fixed on the masts.

Round the centre mast tables were placed, forming a square, and which were to have been prepared for the sovereigns; and there were other tables all round for the company.

Fronting the entrance of this banqueting hall steps had been raised for a very large sideboard. The approach to this hall was through a vestibule 30 feet long and upwards of 15 broad, and in front of its entry were three statues. The one on the right hand was meant to represent Hercules, club in hand, and at his feet a scroll representing the Emperor's two columns, with his motto, "*Non plus ultra;*" and under the shield this saying—"*Fidelis amicus protectio fortis.*"

The centre figure represented King Arthur in regal apparel, and at his feet a scroll, across which were three royal crowns, and beneath, eight verses in French, to this effect:—

"I am the famous King Arthur, come to behold you, valorous Princes; be welcome," &c.

On the left hand was a man-at-arms in armour carrying a spear, and at his feet a scroll bearing the old arms of England, and beneath the motto—"*Amicus fidelis est alter ego.*"

Between this figure [of the man-at-arms] and King Arthur, was the red dragon (King Henry's badge) bearing the banner or arms of England.

Between King Arthur and Hercules was the black eagle bearing the banner with the Emperor's arms.

Beneath the verses about King Arthur was a gilt shield, and two hands, in each of which was a drawn sword, and a scroll round them inscribed with the words,—"*Cui adhæreo præest,*"* which induced much comment.

In the vestibule were six gilt statues of kings, three on each side; and at the entrance, over the door of the theatre, there were also three statues, and in the centre the God of Love, with a scroll at his feet, thus—"*Inveni hominem secundum cor meum.*"

On the right hand was a lansquenet carrying a scroll inscribed with the words—"*Intus pax habitat; nos pro foribus vigilamus.*"

On the left-hand was an English archer with his buckler, bearing the following motto:—"*Qui violat pacem hinc procul abeat.*"

* According to Mezerai this inscription decorated the temporary palace at Guisnes.

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Within the theatre, at the entrance, were the "old" arms of England and the imperial eagle, being placed in like manner all around, together with the two swords.

In this place, and in the fashion described, the banquet was to have been made, but the westerly wind hearing the report, and fearing it might be too hot in so enclosed a place, stripped off the covering and ceiling, and scattering the fire, the air, the sea, and the land, left the site for the spectators, I suppose, the ruin being so complete that for them alone was there any accommodation.

On the morning of Friday the 13th, after dinner, their Majesties prepared for departure, but there was so much delay and so many conferences, that after a great part of the Emperor's retinue and his baggage had been sent off he at length determined to stay, and the two sovereigns and their ministers sat in council to discuss their affairs.

Then, on Saturday the 14th of July, the Emperor at length departed, accompanied by the King of England and the royal retinue, as also by the ambassadors, in their usual place. Both the sovereigns wore doublets; the Emperor's was of silver and gold lama in triangles; the King of England wore cloth of gold. They rode dapple-grey horses, both with very smart (*galanti*) coverings of cloth of silver, with knots. Having ridden together four miles, when distant one mile from the site of the [first ?] interview, they embraced each other, cap in hand, very lovingly, having first talked together face to face, and the King of England well nigh in the ear of the Emperor, who then shook hands with the ambassadors and the rest of the chief personages; after which, the ambassadors took leave of Madame Margaret, the Venetian ambassador Surian kissing her in the Flemish fashion; whereupon the Emperor returned to St. Omer, and the King of England came to Calais, and, together with his retinue and the ambassadors, crossed the Channel with the first fair weather.

[*Italian.*]

May 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 440.

51. ALVISE GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Consistory held for the affair of Martin Luther in Germany, and nothing determined. The matter postponed in order not to render the scandal greater than it was by showing that importance was attached to his errors.

Rome, 22nd May. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 472.

52. ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

On the 26th discharges of cannon were heard from the castles of England to celebrate (it was supposed) the Emperor's arrival on the island.

Arrival of a messenger from England with the news, that on the 26th the Emperor, with his fleet, reached Dover, and landed, with a numerous company, and went to the place from which the King was to cross, so that they would hold a conference.

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King Francis told him (Giustinian) the Emperor was not well counselled, and saw things under a false aspect.

Dated 26 and 27 [May] from Linz [Linck?], 10 leagues from Ardres, where the King was to lodge and await the passage of the King of England. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 480.

53. FRANCESCO CORNARO and ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor arrived within four leagues of Dover on the afternoon of the 26th May, and there awaited the rest of his squadron. Three large and well armed ships of the King of England went to meet the Emperor and do him honour. The whole Imperial fleet made its appearance later, with delightful weather, and all proceeded together to Dover. When on the point of landing, about sunset, the Emperor was met at a short distance from the shore by Cardinal Wolsey, with two ship's boats, accompanied by many noblemen and gentlemen, richly clad in silk, with massive gold chains. On approaching the Emperor's boat the Cardinal made him a Latin speech, expressing the singular joy caused by his arrival to the King, who was at Sandwich, and would come to Dover immediately.

The Emperor, after a few words of thanks to the Cardinal in reply, then landed, the only ambassador in his company being Cornaro. The Emperor was received most joyously by the Cardinal, whom his Majesty embraced and caressed extremely, as likewise did Mons. de Chièvres. When the greeting came to an end, the Emperor mounted on horseback, and was conducted by the Cardinal and all the chief personages to the Castle, where the Emperor and the Cardinal, Mons. de Chièvres, and the most confidential Imperial attendants were lodged. During the night, the King arrived, and went straight to the Emperor's bedchamber, where they embraced each other familiarly, with great indications of good will. The King departed immediately, and lodged in the town.

On the 27th, two hours after sunrise, the King returned to the Castle, and, after mutual embraces, the two sovereigns mounted on horseback for Canterbury, where the Queen had remained. For lack of horses Cornaro was unable to accompany their Majesties, but Surian, the French ambassador, and many other noblemen who had stayed at Canterbury, met them at some distance outside the city, and accompanied them to the cathedral. The Emperor remained always to the right of the King, who throughout showed the Emperor every mark of honour becoming his dignity. On their entering the cathedral, the Queen came down stairs with the King's sister and many other ladies most richly apparelled, and they and the Emperor embraced and kissed each other, and proceeded afterwards to the high altar, where certain prayers were chanted as usual, which being ended, all their Majesties went to the lodgings which had been prepared for them in the Archbishop's palace adjoining the cathedral, and which were hung with very costly tapestries and cloths of gold. A collation was then served. Returning to his

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lodgings, Surian found Cornaro there, who had arrived from Dover. After remaining some while together, proceeded to the palace, and accompanied their Majesties to mass. The mass was sung with every solemnity by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Cardinal Wolsey and many lords and gentlemen of the kingdom were present in most pompous array, and with massive gold chains, forming as fine a sight as could possibly be desired.

The ambassadors, having reaccompanied their Majesties to their apartments, took leave, together with the French ambassador, by whom they were informed that King Henry would cross over to Calais on the following Wednesday, for the interview with his most Christian Majesty, for which King Henry had already sent to make great preparations.

Nothing could exceed the external demonstrations made by the King and all his dependents, so much to the satisfaction of the whole court and population of England as to defy exaggeration.

Canterbury, 27th May 1520.

Received at Venice on the 10th June.

[*Italian.*]

May 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 517.

54. FRANCESCO CORNARO and ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Emperor and the King of England went to mass yesterday, with a very numerous retinue of lords and ladies most richly clad, and after the mass their Majesties dined in the house where the Emperor was lodged. There sat at the table with the Emperor the King of England, the Queens,* the King's sister,† and Cardinal Wolsey. So far as they (the ambassadors) understand, the banquet was very sumptuous; and there was dancing and much revelry. In the evening two English gentlemen were sent to conduct them, together with the French ambassador, to a hall richly decorated with arras of cloth of gold and of silk. Their Majesties made their appearance there; and the water for their hands having been presented to the Emperor and to the King together, and subsequently to the Queens, to the King's sister, and to Cardinal Wolsey, they all seated themselves at one table; at a little distance from which, was placed another very long table, where they (the Venetian ambassadors) sat, as also the French ambassador, and many lords and gentlemen, in number 200. The banquet lasted three hours; it was most stately; and when ended the King danced, but not the Emperor, who remained talking with the ladies; and the entertainment lasted until . . . .

Canterbury, 28th May 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 511.

55. FRANCESCO CORNARO and ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the SIGNORY.

Describe the banquet given to the Emperor, which lasted during

* Queen Katharine of Aragon and Germaine de Foix, widow of the King of Aragon.
† Mary Tudor, widow of the King of France; wife of the Duke of Suffolk.

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three hours, and was followed by a ball until day-break. The King danced, but not the Emperor; the Queen and the King's sister and other ladies were present. Then on the ——— the Emperor departed to Sandwich to embark, and the King accompanied him a distance of five miles, conversing on the way, and not choosing any of the ambassadors to follow.

On the receipt of some Turkish news-letters Mons. de Chièvres remarked that whenever the Italians wanted anything they mentioned the Turk; and that the news of a Turkish invasion of the Friuli, and the march of Venetian troops in that direction, might therefore be for the purpose of making an attack on the Emperor. Replied that the intelligence concerning the Turks had been received from the Imperialists, and that the news written by the Signory concerning the Turk had been confirmed by advices.

Possibly, after the interview with the King of France, the King of England would confer with the Emperor, as having to cross the sea, his Majesty would be but at a little distance from him.

Canterbury, 29th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 516.

56. A LETTER from ———, at the COURT of FRANCE, to his Brother.

Cardinal Wolsey went to meet the Emperor the evening of his arrival, and the next morning was followed by the King, who gave the Emperor such good greeting as might be imagined. The secretary of the Venetian ambassador at the French Court had gone to see England, and chanced to be there at the time of the Emperor's arrival, and represented his court as very mean and insignificant,* so that the secretary having ridden from Canterbury to Dover to catch a glimpse of his Imperial Majesty, passed him on the road without recognition, such being the splendour and amount of his retinue! †

The King of England was to be at Calais on the 30th May. The Venetian Secretary said he was a handsome and jovial man, and gave a similar account of his court.

Departure on that day [30th May] of the French court from Montreuil, the King intending to sleep at a distance of two leagues thence, and to proceed on the morrow to Ardres.

Cardinal Wolsey had with him 200 gentlemen clad in crimson velvet and wearing massive gold chains; he had a body-guard of 200 archers, and was the proudest prelate that ever breathed. The Cardinal wore crimson satin from head to foot; and his mule was covered with crimson velvet, and her trappings were all of gold.

Montreuil, 30th May 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 517.

57. A LETTER from the COURT of FRANCE.

On the preceding day King Francis arrived at Ardres, and the King of England at Calais. The latter immediately despatched

* "Abietissima e pitita" (sic), query *petite*.

† "Lo passò, non cognoscendolo per la bella et gran compagnia."

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Master Volante [Sir Richard Wingfield?] (who was English ambassador in France when the writer arrived there) to acquaint King Francis that he had arrived at Calais, together with the ladies, who, like himself, were fatigued and unwell after the sea voyage; so that he had been unable to reach Guisnes on that day, according to his promise; but should King Francis be dissatisfied with this excuse, he would proceed immediately on post horses. Thereupon the most Christian King despatched St. Marceau, together with the above-mentioned Volante [Wingfield?], very civilly informing the King of England that he by no means wished him to take the trouble of going to Ardres, as yesterday; but he besought him not to fail being present at the appointed place, on the day named for the interview.

On the day of the letter's date, the King of England was about to send Cardinal Wolsey to Ardres, where he was expected within an hour. The demonstration was considered very great, as the Cardinal governed the realm of England as quietly and absolutely as his own archiepiscopal see. The Emperor had been for three or four days in England; he arrived there very ill attended, and departed three days before that date.

Ardres, 1st of June. *Registered by Sanuto 20th June.*

Note by Sanuto that the original letter was in French, that it was translated, and addressed to Rome.

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 498.

58. ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

King Francis had been doubtful whether his interview with the King of England would take place, by reason of the conference held with the Emperor. On the 30th May, the Emperor took leave of the King, went to Sandwich, where his fleet was, and embarked for Flanders. On that same evening King Henry arrived arrived at Dover, and on the morrow, the last of the month, embarked and crossed to Calais with the Queen.

On that day (1st of June) the ambassador of King Henry came to acquaint King Francis with his passage, and to announce the coming of Cardinal Wolsey, who set out in the afternoon. The most Christian King sent the Admiral [Bonnivet] and Mons. de L'Escu as far as Calais to meet him; and at the distance of half a league from Ardres, he was met by the brother-in-law of King Francis, the Duke of Alençon, by the Duke of Bourbon, and by Mons. de Vendome, all of the blood royal, besides other gentlemen and archers. Then King Francis in person, riding a mule, went alone with some mounted bowmen to the gate of Ardres, the archers remaining outside; and when the Cardinal approached, the King passed the gate and went to meet him, and embraced him; great compliments being exchanged mutually, and the Cardinal remaining cap in hand. They then rode together to the palace, where a lodging had been prepared for his lordship, and after a few words they separated, having arranged a conference for the morrow. The Cardinal was accompanied by 60 gentlemen, dressed in crimson velvet, with gold

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chains, and mounted bowmen all dressed in red. His lordship wore crimson satin, and rode a she mule; a second she mule being led before him very well caparisoned.

The Queen of France and Madame [Louise] were at Montreuil, and were expected at Ardres on the morrow. King Francis would confer with the King of England, and everything take place precisely as stipulated by the articles.

Linx,* 1st of June. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 518.

59. Cavalier Della Croce to ———, at the French Court.

On the preceding day the Emperor and the King of England went together half way across the Channel, the King going to Calais and the Emperor to Flanders, with some 80 ships, but not armed.

On the day of the letter's date Cardinal Wolsey went to the most Christian King at Ardres. He had with him 100 gentlemen dressed in crimson velvet, with gold chains round their necks, and a fine band of archers with embroidered doublets. The Admiral, accompanied by many gentlemen, went as far as Lingue [Linck?], an English castle, to meet him, and a great number of cannon were discharged during the Cardinal's passage. At the distance of three bow-shots from Ardres the Cardinal was received by Mons. d'Alençon, the Constable [Bourbon], and the Marshal De Chatillon. On his arrival the most Christian King mounted on horseback, and, preceded by the Switzers and followed by the archers and 200 gentlemen on foot in two ranks, with a crowd of princes and nobles, went to meet him at the gate. On perceiving the King, the Cardinal gave his hat to one of the attendants, and cap in hand came towards his Majesty. After greeting each other, they entered the town, the King on the right and the Cardinal on the left, cap in hand; but the King made him cover thrice. The Cardinal supped at Ardres, the King providing for his expenses.

Guisnes, 1st of June. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 3–8. Mantuan Archives.

60. Gioan Joachino, Secretary of Octavian Fregoso (Governor of Genoa), resident at the French Court.

Description of the interview between the Kings of France and England, dated Ardres, the 3rd of June.

The interview with the King of England will take place on Tuesday or Wednesday; our King is going to Guisnes, to banquet with the Queen of England; and on the same day the King of England will come here to Ardres to banquet with our Queen [Claude]. Subsequently the Kings will banquet together, and there is nothing but good will between them. They are a short four Italian miles asunder.

Ardres is an open village which the English burnt some four years ago, about the size of Urbino. Guisnes is even larger and stronger. The lists are in the midst, between the two places, within the

* Probably Linck, a fort near Bourbourg, and not far from Ardres.

1520. English Pale, where they have selected a large plain, 400 paces in length and 200 paces in breadth, round which they have dug a ditch, and with its earth have formed a bank or bulwark nine feet high, enclosing "the Field," as they call it.

To this there are two entries, one at each extremity, opposite to each other; the lists, 150 paces in length, being between them, and well arranged. On either side there are stages on which the ladies and everybody will be placed to see the entertainments, which will commence on Monday the 11th instant, and will last some eight or ten days. The jousters on both sides, some 220 men-at-arms in all, are in excellent condition.

Persons who have been to Calais tell wonders of the English pomp, and of the King's tent measuring some 6,000 yards (*aune*) of cloth of gold, and exceeding that of his Majesty here, which cost about 150,000 ducats or more.

5th of June, from Ardres.

Last evening the King of France came hither from Marquise, and the King of England arrived at Guisnes, three short Italian miles from this place. Tomorrow the first interview or visit of these two sovereigns will take place at 1 p.m., between this and Guisnes, in the open country. This first embrace will be unaccompanied by any other display. On Thursday and Sunday banquets and entertainments will be given by both parties. On Monday the jousts, which will last about a week or more, commence.

Could I describe the fortress-house raised at Guisnes by the King of England for his banquet (*festino*), you would be surprised to hear of its architecture, but you would be more delighted to behold such a structure, built to last a day, and no longer. It appears to be that which it is not, and it is that which it does not appear to be.

At a bow-shot's distance from the castle of Guisnes, in the direction of Ardres, is a palace well nigh square, with four ranges of buildings, connected and uniform. Two of them, being 160 paces in length, are opposite to each other; and the two others have a frontage of 80 paces. Each of the four ranges measures 30 paces in depth.

This palace has a round tower at each corner, and a lofty portal, wide and magnificent, in the direction of Ardres, placed in the centre of the façade between two handsome round towers, like a fortress, as high as the palace; they are built entirely of bricks, with loop-holes (*finestrate*) and battlements defended by statues of armed men, in the act of discharging stones from the "*scapetti*," and iron balls from the cannons and culverins. At a distance of some twelve paces from these two towers are two beautiful painted fountains representing images of Bacchus, with very large and handsome basins, into which wine is to flow constantly, in abundance.

The internal and external walls of this house are about 50 feet high, with battlements all round, but of wood, though so well arranged that they appear to be brick. Thebuilding has a slanting roof, made apparently of lead, on which a beautiful scale pattern

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(*occhi di pavone*) on brass (*et de otone*), the slope being such as required.

The wall is built as follows:—To the height of 15 feet it is of brick, in the Italian fashion. On this wall rest 22 feet of painted boards imitating the brick-work, of which they form the continuation.

At the summit of this elevation of about 37 feet, is a range of double glass windows inside and out, divided solely by wooden pilasters, representing columns 1½ foot in diameter.*

Above the internal and external windows is a cornice, surmounted by a second frieze, with a blank space about five feet deep between the two, on which space I believe there will be either paintings or inscriptions, the roof (which has battlements as aforesaid) resting on the second cornice.

Having passed the entrance gate, you enter an atrium or vestibule, 100 paces in length and 30 paces broad, fronting which is a handsome covered stair in the Italian fashion, of the same width as the atrium.

After ascending 15 steps, the stair winds, and having mounted about as many more, you arrive at a great door, and enter a hall 160 paces in length, and 30 paces broad.

Throughout the building, at a distance of two feet below the windows, is a handsome gilt cornice whereon to hang the tapestries, which are all most magnificent.

The other three compartments (*corpi*) of the building are divided into chambers and chapels, their floors being tastefully gilt, but the floor of the hall is of alternate checquers of white and yellow taffety intersected by red roses.

Beneath these floors are the cellars, kitchens, and offices, with very handsome gratings before the windows, arched, and apparently of iron, though in reality they are of painted wood, and being placed opposite to each other, and with great regularity, they give additional grace to the quadrangle.

The palace is surrounded by a large square measuring a good 60 paces in width, with a moat; and beyond the square and moat is a barrier of beautiful brocade, with two entries opposite to each other, leading to the hall, at one extremity of which is a long corridor connecting it with the castle of Guisnes, distant some 400 paces.

Each compartment has a large lantern (*una grandissima lanterna*) in the centre, in the form of a crown, with octagonal windows, more for ornament than for light, as the windows all round, inside and out, render the halls so luminous that, when within them, it is like being in the open air.

It is said that this palace will be completed on Thursday, or thereabouts, but the English gentlemen charged with its construction and custody receive these French gentlemen with the utmost civility, and to all they give drink in large gilt cups (*coppe*) holding seven pints of wine each.

* "Sono dentro e fori vedriate, alte 15 palmi, tutte continuate, de modo che fra l'una et l'altra sono solo piastri pieni di legno, in forma di colone larghe circa doi palmi."

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Here nothing is attended to but these pageants (*triumphi*). Today the tent of the King of France was pitched in a field near this place, where are also a great number of other tents, the English also having pitched their tents outside Guisnes, but ours [the French] are the handsomer. Altogether they will amount to some 2,000; and they are still in the act of putting them up. The tent of the King our lord is a magnificent affair (*una grandissima cosa*). From the ground to its summit, on which is a gigantic St. Michael, it measures 60 paces (*sessanta passi*); the poles which support it are tall masts lashed together to increase their length, which is such that it would certainly suffice for a ship of 400 butts. The diameter of this tent in its centre (*in fondo*) is sixteen paces, and all round it is a corridor, eight paces broad and some 20 paces in length.

The whole tent and its corridor have an external covering of very costly gold brocade, with three circular stripes of azure-coloured velvet with golden lilies in relief, each circle being the whole breadth of the velvet, which forms a very beautiful ornament. At the feet of the St. Michael, which has for pedestal a large golden ball, twelve zig-zag rays dart, as from a beam of light, the rays being made of the same azure-coloured velvet, with golden lilies in relief, and the rays descend from the summit of the tent downwards, in length a good 10 paces. The ropes or cords of the tent are of wove hemp tricoloured, white, tawny, and black, the King's colours, and the principal ropes are so thick that they might serve as cables for a ship of 300 butts or upwards. The internal lining will be of azure-coloured velvet, with gold lilies.

Adjoining this tent are four other smaller ones, which, although large, appear very small in comparison with the chief tent. They measure 30 paces in circumference, and 20 in diameter. They are placed in front of each other. They are to be covered with the same cloth of gold, with an internal lining of the same material, and are to be striped laterally, like the large tent, which they surround; and adjoining there will be 12 tents of suitable size which will, it is said, be covered externally with crimson satin and lined with some other satin, though from what I hear, they will not be ready for four days. These 12 tents are distant some 50 paces from the large one.

The building destined for the banquet is a rotunda, its circuit measuring about 240 paces, and will be covered like a tent, with azure-coloured cloth with painted golden lilies, decorated with very handsome tapestries, and not with cloth of gold, as stated.

The interview took place, not on Wednesday, but yesterday, in the most loving form possible, at 6 p.m.

The meeting lasted for two hours, and during three-quarters of an hour their Majesties were alone together, and seemed unable to tear themselves away from each other, and had it not then been half an hour after sunset, their loving conference would have lasted longer.

Beyond the "field" or "lists" is a place situated between this place and Guisnes (from which it is distant rather more than half a mile), in the form of a valley, where the King of England pitched

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a handsome tent of figured gold brocade without, and tapestried internally with very costly arras, embroidered in gold and silver. The tent was small but elegant, and adjoining were two awnings to correspond, which served as chambers.

Some 80 paces distant from this tent were two other canvas tents, well supplied with most excellent wines.

The King left Ardres at about 4h. 30m. He was preceded by the gentlemen of the princes, lords, and barons of France, a good 1,000 in number, the chief of whom were Mons. de Gamadria (*sic*)* and Mons. de Malaure (*sic*);† and also by the gentlemen pensioners, in number some 140, who were commanded by Mons. de la Roche Guyon. Next followed the archers of the guard and the princes, in number about 400, all on foot, with halberts and battle axes, and the salamander and other emblems. Then came the 100 Switzers of the guard, in satin doublets of the King's colours, and hose to match, the plumes in their bonnets being of the same hues,—black, tawny, and white. After the Switzers came all the heralds of France; all the trumpeters and fifers; all the door-porters; all the esquires of the body; and the gentlemen of the chamber immediately preceded the King, who rode a great bay courser, with a half surcoat of embroidered cloth of gold.

The King wore a cap of black velvet with feathers of the same colour, and some large jewels in it very well set, which the King estimates at 2,000 ducats. His doublet was embroidered with gold knots, the shirt protruding from the slashes, the tags of which were most beautiful jewels. His breast was bare, and he had sleeves (*manegetti*). Over the doublet was a cloak of cloth of gold embroidered; at the back of the cloak a certain bit of cloth of gold slashed, looking like a half cape, or well nigh a half mantle, fastened over the left shoulder, which half cape or mantle was costly and ornamented with large jewels. On his legs, he wore white boots (*burzachini bianchi*). Before the King was the Lord Constable [Bourbon], on a large courser, whose surcoats were of cloth of gold, and the Constable himself wore an embroidered cloak of cloth of gold, with the sword of state in his hand. Beside the King were, Alençon, Vendome, the Duke of Lorraine, St. Pol, the Admiral [Bonnivet], the Lord Steward [De Boissi], Aumale, Lautrec, La Valle, Chateaubriand, and in short, all the princes, lords, and barons of France, not one of whom was missing. All the knights of the order [of St. Michael] were present, wearing the large insignia and tabards of cloth of gold; all the lords and barons being likewise in cloth of gold, and many gentlemen, all the household and officials, and, in fine, everybody. There were at least 300 persons clad in cloth of gold, and a great number in velvet. The ambassadors from the Pope, Spain, Venice, Mantua, and Ferrara, each accompanied by some great personage, were also there.

When this large company reached the hill which overlooks (*causa*) valley, all ranged themselves in line within the barriers placed there,

* Qu. Mons. de Gammaches? See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii. p. 313.
† Qu. Count de Maulevrier, seneschal of Normandy?

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distant 50 paces from the tent below, but these barriers were [merely] signals, [viz.,] pikes driven into the ground along the ridge of the hill for the distance of a mile, at intervals of 100 paces.

On the opposite hill the English company was ranged in like order, and had arrived first on the ground, on reaching which the French music ceased. After a short pause the English instruments struck up, and the French responded. When they had been silent for a few moments, the two Kings, who were opposite to each other, moved forward on horseback, each accompanied by two mounted attendants. With the English King were Cardinal Wolsey and the Constable [Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset]. With the King of France the Admiral and the Constable. Both the Constables bore the swords of state aloft unsheathed. As the space had been well divided, the two Kings arrived simultaneously in the centre of the valley, where a spear had been planted, distant some 100 paces from the tent. Before arriving at the spot, when at a distance of 30 paces from their respective companies, which had remained behind at the barriers, the two Kings at one and the same time uncovered, saluting each other bareheaded, and then, hastening forward, they embraced thrice on horseback, always cap in hand; after which they both dismounted in such haste that it could scarcely be distinguished which was the first, but the King of England was the first. Accompanied each by two running footmen (*staffieri*), they then again embraced so lovingly, that but few on our side could avoid shedding tears of joy or gladness. Such were the embraces that I know not whether closer could be imagined, and they were upwards of 20 in number. They then walked slowly towards the tent, the King of England placing the King of France on his right hand, and with their heads bare they remained a good while under so scorching a sun, that it could not have been hotter in St. Peter's at Rome. Their Majesties were accompanied into the tent by the Cardinal and the Admiral, the two Constables remaining outside walking up and down and the running footmen of the two Kings and of their four attendants, being mounted on horseback and a long way off, rode to and fro, first in the direction of the English company and then of ours, but kept their ranks.

After their Majesties had been a quarter of an hour in the tent, they dismissed the Admiral and the Cardinal, who, to avoid the sun, went into the two tents where the wine was. On the expiration of half an hour, wine was taken to their Majesties in the tent, where the Admiral and Cardinla drank again and served their Majesties, who drank the same wine out of one and the same cup. Having drank, the Cardinal and the Admiral came out of the tent, their Majesties remaining alone. At sunset the Cardinal and the Admiral went back into the tent, and said it was late; so the two Kings gave orders for their chief nobility to come and pay their respects reciprocally. From the English company, some 22 came forth, headed by the Duke of Suffolk, and upwards of 40, led by Monsr. d' Alençon came from the French side. Their Majesties went forth to receive them; and when the entire French company saw this, they all descended in like manner, regardless of any prohibition; whereas the

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English never stirred from their ranks, and thus exhibited very great discipline and good faith.*

Whilst outside the tent, the two Kings embraced each other repeatedly, as if they had then met for the first time, addressing each other in such language as to leave it doubtful whether they were more brothers than friends, or friends rather than brothers. The one said to the ministers and noblemen of the other, "there is now no farther need of trouble for my brother and I will see to our own interests." And then, when the Cardinal being already on horseback said, "Sire, it is too late, most especially as the King your brother is the farthest off from his lodging; may it please your Majesty to take to horse:" the King of England replied, with a hearty laugh, "You may go yourself, but I choose to remain with the King my brother;" and again did they embrace. At length, after a great struggle, they both mounted on horseback, taking leave first in the act of mounting, and again when mounted. But it would be long to repeat the loving words uttered by the King of England to the French nobility, to whom he said that he would devote his money, realm, and person to the service of the King his brother.

Today the Cardinal and the Duke of Suffolk and all the English nobility are here at Ardres; and a great part of ours are at Guisnes.

The entertainment will take place on Sunday should the apartments here be completed, our King going to Guisnes to the Queen of England, and the King of England coming to the Queen of France at Ardres.

The King of England wore a very handsome and costly doublet of cloth of silver, with a girdle and apron (*traversa*) or "*sbarra*" from the cincture to the shoulder, of cloth of gold studded with very beautiful jewels, and a black velvet cap with jewels and black feathers; and he rode a very handsome bay courser with a "trapper"† embroidered in gold.

The English gentlemen and ours were on horseback unarmed, having only swords, but the display (*pompa*) of this side [the French] far exceeded that of the other [the English]. Both French and English wore very large gold chains.

The jousts will commence on Monday or Tuesday, and will last about 10 days.

On the entry of the Kings into the tent with the Admiral and the Cardinal, this last read to their Majesties the articles and conventions stipulated between them, and when he came to the words "Henry King of England and of France," his Majesty said, laughing, "Expunge this title," (*levesi questo titulo,*) and turning to our King, added, "They are titles given me which are good for nothing." Our King desired that the reading might nevertheless be continued, and at its close, said, "*Mon Frere*, now that you are my friend, you are King of France, King of all my possessions, and of me myself; but without friendship I acknowledge no other King of France than myself, and thus, with the aid of our Lord God, do

* "Nel che monstrò obedientia et fede grandissima."
† "Sopraveste," surcoat. Hall writes "trapper."

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I hope to be able to defend and preserve this kingdom for myself and my successors." To this, the King of England (having risen and embraced him) replied, "*Mon Frere*, I swear to our Lord God, although I have been very deeply in love, that I never had so strong a wish and desire to gratify any of my appetites, as that of seeing and embracing you, and I promise God, who has granted me this grace, never to love anybody so much as I love you; and should you ever find me fail in this love, and that I do not love you above everything, and do not perform such office as becomes a true and perfect friend, I am willing to be accounted the most base and sorry prince and gentleman in the world:"* whereupon he again embraced our King, who made a suitable answer, returning thanks, and promising the like to his Majesty.

Dated at Ardres, 3rd–8th June.

[*Italian, copy.*]

June 3. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 517.

61. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador at the English Court, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Emperor departed [from Canterbury] on the 30th May, for Sandwich, to embark for Flanders. The King of England accompanied him a distance of five miles. They conversed by the way on horseback, and did not allow any of the ambassadors to attend them.

The King and Queen and his Majesty's sister then went to Dover for their passage, to effect the interview arranged with the King of France.

He (Surian) arrived at Boulogne in a violent storm, together with the Papal ambassador. Many ships had been wrecked in crossing.

Calais, 3rd June 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 510.

62. ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The most Christian King had held various colloquies with Cardinal Wolsey, who offered to arrange the disputes between his Majesty and the Emperor.

Linck (*Linches*), three leagues from Ardres, 4th June 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 510.

63. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador accredited to Henry VIII., to the SIGNORY.

The King had crossed with the Queen and his sister. He (the ambassador) encountered a storm on his passage and nearly perished. The negotiations between the Emperor and the King had been very secret, and their purport was not known.

Calais, 4th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th June.*

[*Italian.*]

* "Voglio esser detto il più lachio (*lâche?*) e più mechiante (*méchant?*) principe et gentilhomo del mondo. Et qui un' altra volta l'abbracciò; ma a queste parole il Re nostro signor rispose quanto convenia, ringratiandosi (*sic*) et promettendosi (*sic*) il medesimo a S. M^tà."

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June [4] ?
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 511.

64. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador at the English Court, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The King and Queen, with the King's sister and Cardinal Wolsey and other lords, had crossed the Channel in great pomp. He (Surian) with the Papal ambassador made their passage subsequently, and well nigh perished in a storm, and some ships were lost. He had intended going to Calais, but landed at Boulogne. The Pope's ambassador in France told him he was there to discuss the Turkish affairs. Suspects his object is to secure an honorable place for the Pope, in the event of any treaty between the two Kings.

Boulogne, ... *Registered by Sanuto, 20th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 4.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 511.

65. ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The King [of France] is extremely satisfied with Cardinal Wolsey, and says he is a most estimable personage, eloquent and prudent, and worthy to rule England. He (the King) promised himself much from him.

On the 5th or the 6th the two sovereigns will meet, and the King of France will go and dine with the King of England.

The Queen and the King's mother were to arrive there [Linck ?] on the morrow.

[Linck ?], 4th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 471.

66. INTELLIGENCE received through the GERMAN WAREHOUSE that letters written from Frankfort on three different days, to German merchants, announced the arrival of the Emperor off the coast of England on the 26th May.

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 522.

67. The VALLEY of ARDRES.

Letter dated Ardres, 7th June 1520, describing the interview between his most Christian Majesty and the King of England.

On the morning of the 7th June Cardinal Wolsey went to King Francis and dined with him, after which he departed, accompanied a good way by the Admiral, the Master of the Horse, and the Marshal de Chatillon. At about 5 p.m. two pieces of artillery were discharged as a signal, notifying to the King of England that King Francis was then taking to horse, and thus did he; King Henry on the other hand firing a third gun.

King Francis rode a very beautiful bay horse, caparisoned with embroidery and pearls. He himself wore a doublet of very costly cloth of gold and a cloak of the same material, and his jerkin, embroidered and slashed, was of great value. On his breast he wore sundry rich and beautiful jewels, and likewise on his cap, which was of black velvet. He was preceded by the military trumpeters, the fifers, and horn players, who performed one after the other. After the musicians came a great number of gentlemen of the Chamber and Wardrobe, all richly clad in cloths of gold and silver slashed in a variety of

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fashions, many of them having gold chains round their necks. The Switzers followed in battle array, with their drum major, and then came the King's macers, also in slashed garments of cloth of gold and silk, with massive gold chains of various sorts. The King followed, and was immediately in advance of the ambassadors and the princes of the blood royal and the barons, all in doublets of gold "*soprarizo*,"* many of which were slashed, exhibiting other gold beneath, and many wore cloaks like the King. Amongst the rest was the Admiral, who, besides gold and silver "*soprarizi*," had a sailor's gold whistle at his side, adorned with pearls and jewels of great price, his cap being decorated in like manner. Last of all came the archer guard on horseback. Outside Ardres a file of many gentlemen in pairs, who preceded all the others, were drawn up and ranged on the left-hand side. At no great distance from the town were the Queen and Madame [Louise] in a litter, they having come to see the pomp of France, and when the King drew nigh he quitted the ranks, conversing awhile with his mother, cap in hand, and then returned to his place. The procession rode thus for a league and half, and at length reached a hill overlooking a valley in whose hollow was a very costly and beautiful tent, and beyond was another similar eminence, on which were seen assembled all the attendants of the King of England, who came in the following order:—First, some 60 mounted bowmen with their bows and arrows, the King's guard, followed by well-nigh as many more, the guard of Cardinal Wolsey, whose gentlemen followed, all dressed in crimson velvet, with gold chains round their necks; next the trumpeters; then a good number of gentlemen well arrayed in brocade of gold, silver, and silk, all with chains; and then the sackbuts followed in advance of the barons and lords of the kingdom, who were dressed in gold "*soprarizo*," with massive chains, and in the midst of them were the ambassadors. Then came the King with his running footmen, in number six, dressed in crimson velvet and gold, the footmen of King Francis being clad in white velvet and silver.

King Henry wore cloth of very rich silver, "*soprarizo*," and a cap with black feathers, the feathers in the cap of King Francis being also black. King Henry rode a bay horse of the breed of the Duke of Termini, with trappings like those of King Francis, and perhaps more rich in jewels; his Majesty himself wearing a jewelled collar in lieu of a chain, of great value, and a jewelled belt besides no less costly.

To the left of the King was Cardinal Wolsey, preceded by two crosses, his Lordship being dressed in crimson satin.

Then followed eight coursers, the handsomest ever seen in the world, all trapped in various fashions, rich and superb, and ridden by pages clad in brocade and crimson velvet.

The cavalcade, having proceeded thus for some while, arrived at a level, where from 300 to 400 infantry were drawn up, and placed the King in their centre, they being dressed in velvet and cloth, and having no other weapon than the sword, with the exception of some hundred in front, who carried halberts.

* Qu. *tissue*.

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In this array the English company reached the hill, and ranged themselves along its summit, the French doing the like in the opposite direction. Many of the attendants were sent back, most especially on the French side, because so great an amount of persons caused suspicion to King Henry, on which account certain gentlemen carried messages to and fro, as the French in like manner took umbrage at so great an amount of infantry. But everything was at length arranged; and when the Kings arrived at their respective hills, the trumpets sounded from both one and the other, and their Majesties immediately commenced descending. King Francis was accompanied by the Admiral and the Constable, the latter carrying the naked sword in his hand; another official doing the like by King Henry, who was also accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey. When the two sovereigns were within a stone's throw of each other, they spurred their horses, and cap in hand embraced mutually, but the hot temper of the horses keeping them apart, they returned to the embrace, and simultaneously, without waiting for the running footmen (two of whom accompanied each sovereign) to hold their stirrups, dismounted with the greatest possible agility, and again gracefully embraced and kissed each other, cap in hand, evincing great affection.

The attendants in like manner dismounted, and the two Kings, arm in arm, proceeded to the door of the tent, into which King Francis wished King Henry to enter first, but he refused, and during the contest both Kings remained cap in hand, and at length King Francis took precedence, without, however, once quitting the arm of King Henry. Having thus entered the tent, they remained there about two hours, and then ordered the collation, after which Cardinal Wolsey called some of the chief personages of his retinue that they might pay their respects to King Francis, who had already quitted the tent together with King Henry, and he embraced them all. Then the Admiral called some of the chief French personages, who were very graciously embraced by King Henry, the French and English lords doing the like by each other, with profound obeisances down to the ground; whereupon another collation was served, and they drank together, both parties presenting another batch of noblemen, who all went on foot like the first, and were embraced by both their Majesties. All the gentlemen, especially the French, were served with as much beverage as they pleased.

A great number of horsemen then descended into the valley from both sides, and went to see the two Kings. The writer went down [from the French side], and remarked the extreme courtesy which prevailed. The two Kings at length mounted on horseback, embracing each other again and again, cap in hand, and took leave, King Francis embracing the English noblemen, and King Henry the Frenchmen. And thus they quitted each other, the English returning a distance of one mile to Guisnes, and King Francis to Ardres, where he arrived after nightfall. On the return his horse kicked the Admiral on the leg and the English ambassador also, but they were not seriously injured.

The magnificence of the two Kings and of their noblemen was great and incredible, but the French excelled the English, both in

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apparel and horses, although the English had many gold chains, which were not usual in France.

It is said a banquet will be given on Sunday the 10th; then on Monday the jousts will commence, after which other tournaments were to be held.

The noblemen of France had pitched tents near Ardres; two, under which King Francis would lodge, were of cloth of gold.

Ardres, 7th June 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 7.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 12, 13, 14.

68. LETTER from the COURT of FRANCE to the MAGNIFICO PIETRO MONTEMERLO, Royal Senator.

On Tuesday the 5th of June, the King of England came from Calais to Guisnes with the Queen and the whole court, accompanied by about 50 gentlemen. He rode a bay courser, and wore a garment of brocade ribbed with crimson satin, and on his head a hat trimmed with black feathers. He is a very handsome King, both in face and figure, and has a red beard, and his countenance resembles that of Giovanni Cristoforo Troto.

The Queen rode near him, on a palfrey, with the ladies; then came her litter of cloth of gold, followed by many other ladies; then a waggon (*careta*) covered with cloth of gold, drawn by six coursers; then ladies; and then three other similar waggons, of three colours, all covered with cloth of gold. The ladies were 20 in all, including Queen Mary, widow of King Lewis of France.

After the ladies came all the body-guard, namely, 200 archers; one half bowmen, and the other halberdiers, with doublets of green velvet and white satin; the breasts of the doublets being covered, like ours, with the King's arms, a rose surmounted by the crown.

On the Wednesday, at about the 20th hour, the English King mounted on horseback with some 50 archers and 100 gentlemen, and went to the lists appointed for the jousts. He had with him six coursers, trapped with crimson velvet, all covered with roses of beaten gold, and little bells; a fine sight. On arriving at the lists he made trial of the horses one after another, and he afterwards ran them one against the other, laughing the whole time, being in truth very merry, and he remained in the lists for upwards of two hours. Whilst there he was visited by Mons. de Chateaubriand, the brother "our" Mons. de Lautrec, and by other great personages, to whom he gave the best possible greeting.

Today, when the first conference was held, I went to Guisnes to see the procession of the King of England, which was as follows:—

First there were 2,000 in doublets, forming one batallion, handsome men, and in good array, with swords and bucklers, forming the vanguard; then the King's archers, 200 in number, with halberts. Next came some 400 gentlemen, all dressed in velvet, either black or crimson, and all wearing massive chains round their necks. They were followed by the lords (*signori*) of England, of whom not more than six or eight wore gold brocade; and including that material and "*bigaroto*," those thus clad did not exceed 20 in number. Next came 12 mace bearers, then 12 trumpeters in green

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and white damask, then 12 heralds, all with the arms of England. The Constable of England followed with the drawn sword, preceding the King, who rode a light bay courser, and was dressed in a very beautiful doublet of cloth of silver, with a hood of cloth of gold at the back of his head, on which he wore a cap of black velvet, with a black feather which encircled the brim of the cap.* He had 12 stirrup-men, dressed in brocade and crimson velvet. Beside him was the Cardinal, after whom came two pages in doublets, half of cloth of gold and half of crimson, riding seven coursers, the handsomest ever seen, all trapped alike with gold and silver, the King's own horse being trapped in like manner. In this order they marched a foot's pace.

Having seen this procession I went to witness that of our King, which was in this fashion. There were no footmen, but about 400 horses, all gentlemen in good trim, the doublets of cloth of gold being in the proportion of 20 to 1 of any other material. Then came the Switzers with their feathers in their caps, reaching to the clouds; then the 12 trumpeters or "*miquelets*," with 12 heralds, and the trombones, who played the whole time. They were followed by the Duke of Lorraine, Alençon, Vendome, La Trimouille, the Admiral, Mons. de S. Pol, the Marshals, and several other lords, all covered with stiff gold brocade. Then Mons. de Lautrec and his two brothers, Mons. de L'Esparre and L'Escu, and Chateaubriand, with doublets of stiff cloth of gold, and over the doublets a simar of brocatel, all four in one fashion. Then the Constable in a doublet of stiff brocade, bearing the drawn sword in advance of the King, the Constable being preceded by the Master of the Horse, the latter and his horse being both covered with much embroidery.

Next came the most Christian King, on a courser whose trapper was completely covered with gold. He wore a doublet of stiff brocade, with a simar like that of Mons. de Lautrec, but of black brocade, all covered with precious stones. By his side were 12 stirrup-men, clad in brocatel with his device; and then followed a great crowd of gentlemen, and the archers and the captains, all glittering with gold. In this array the two Kings arrived at the site appointed for the conference. The place is a valley within the English Pale, called anciently "the Vale of Gold" (*val de oro*), in the centre of which was a tent of cloth of gold on crimson, belonging to the King of England. But first they were to meet at the distance of a stone's throw from the tent, at a spear fixed in the ground.

At each extremity of the valley is a hill, the two hills being of equal height; the one French, the other English.

The two Kings descended from their respective hills simultaneously into the valley. They were accompanied solely by the two Constables with the drawn swords, and each had two stirrup-men. When at the distance of about 12 paces from each other, the King of England doffed his bonnet, and urged his horse forward, and the most Christian King did the like. Having embraced and said a few words, they then dismounted, and after again embracing

* "Che la veniva tutta davanti allo intorno di la bereta"

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and remaining thus a short while in each others arms, they then moved towards the tent, our King being always on the right hand. They entered the tent talking and laughing, followed by the English Cardinal and the Admiral. After remaining there for an hour, the Constable of England introduced our Constable; shortly after which the Kings came forth. Then the princes of both nations paid their respects to the Kings, the "*Viscontino*" [Anchises Visconti?] making his appearance dressed in the Albanian fashion, which pleased much. The Kings remained until after sunset, then again embraced and mounted on horseback, and repeated their embraces, being apparently unable to quit each other.

Dated 7th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 7–24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix, pp. 71-9.

69. INTERVIEW between KING FRANCIS I. and KING HENRY VIII.

On the 7th of the month of June 1520, the festival of the Corpus Domini, the two Kings of England and France held their first conference in a field situate between the Castle of Ardres, belonging to the King of France, and that of Guisnes, belonging to the King of England. The King of France made his appearance richly clad. . . . . He rode a beautiful tall Spanish horse, all black, richly trapped. . . . . .

The King quitted Ardres with his retinue about the 21st hour. On his road, near the gate outside the town, the Queen and Madame [Louise], with a great number of ladies and princesses, were placed to see him pass; and when in front of Madame, he went out of the line, cap in hand, and spoke to her, uncovered; and then, having received her blessing, he proceeded to the site of the conference, being constantly met by English lords and gentlemen sent to do him honour by the King of England; to whom in like manner French noblemen went on behalf of their sovereign. The bands of the captains of the archers of the King of France, with Monsr. de la Trimouille and Monsr. de la Palisse, kept back the crowd, and prevented others than those appointed from coming to the spot. . . . . .

The procession of the King of England was as follows:—First, 60 archers on horseback with their bows and arrows, being the King's guard; and as many more, the body-guard of Cardinal Wolsey, followed. Next came the Cardinal's gentlemen, all in crimson velvet, with gold chains round their necks; then the trumpeters; then a number of gentlemen in gold and silver brocade, all with their chains, and in the midst the ambassadors according to their grades. Next came the King in person, with six stirrup-men in crimson velvet and gold; the stirrup-men of the most Christian King being in cloth of silver and white velvet. The King of England wore cloth of silver, and feathers on his head, with a jewelled collar of great value round his neck in lieu of a chain, besides which he had a girdle of great price. He rode a very beautiful bay horse, with trappings like those of the most Christian King, and perhaps more richly jewelled. Cardinal Wolsey was on the left hand of his Majesty, and in advance of him two silver crosses were

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borne ; he was clad in crimson satin. Eight coursers followed, the handsomest ever seen, all trapped in different fashions, but costly and superb ; they were ridden by pages in brocade with crimson velvet. The King having moved processionally thus, met in a field a band of from 3,000 to 4,000 footmen, who joined and followed him. These footmen had only their swords, and were dressed in various liveries, being preceded by others with halberts, all dressed alike in velvet and cloth. In this order the English drew up on the ridge of the hill ; the French being opposite to them on the corresponding eminence. Into the valley formed by these two hills the most Christian King descended, accompanied only by Monsr. de Bourbon, High Constable, the Admiral [Bonnivet], and the Master of the Horse [San Severino].

The King of England in like manner descended, accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey, the High Constable [Marquis of Dorset], and the Master of the Horse [Sir Henry Guylford].

The two Kings met each other on horseback, and having embraced and kissed, and exchanged a few words, cap in hand, they simultaneously dismounted, and again embraced thrice, bowing to each other with marks of very great love ; and, arm in arm, they entered a tent of cloth of gold belonging to the King of England, where they remained together alone for about an hour, being occasionally joined by Cardinal Wolsey and the Admiral of France.

Whilst the Kings remained in the tent, a number of silver-gilt cups were brought, nearly six feet high,* full of excellent wine, and other large gilt bowls with feet (*piedi*) of such a size that the hand could scarcely hold them ; also spice cakes (*un pocho forte*). Liquor was distributed to all who would accept it, and they drank much, both on account of the heat and the great crowd. When the Kings came forth from the tent, the collation was served to them standing, and many lords and gentlemen from both sides descended into the valley on foot to the spot, the King of France embracing the Englishmen, and the King of England doing the like by the Frenchmen ; and when the Kings returned to their lodgings it was already dark.

On the morrow, the 8th, when the three guns were fired as the appointed signal for departure, the two Kings proceeded with a small retinue to the site of the interview held on the preceding day to arrange the jousts by common consent ; and they remained together for four hours, the collation being served with less ceremony than on the day before.

On the following Sunday the most Christian King went to Guisnes, and the King of England to Ardres ; the latter dining with the Queen of France, and the former with the Queen of England at a spot immediately outside the town of Guisnes, and over a bridge which traversed the moat.

The principle entrance of the Castle of Guisnes leads into a square court-yard, of which each side measures about 50 paces. Here, to the height of some three paces from the ground, the foundations are built of bricks, which support a planked floor, strewed all over with

* "Alti quasi do braza."

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rushes, it being the custom thus to cover all the floors in England. Above this floor, externally, the building is partly of wood and partly of stones in squares, having the appearance of a real wall. This palace represents a square as aforesaid, and is divided into halls, saloons, and chambers, leading one into the other. Throughout the palace is adorned with silk and red roses, and the emblems of the King of England; and the platforms were similarly ornamented. But marvellous were the tapestries with which the whole palace was hung; all of gold and silk; some representing figures, others foliage, which it would not be possible to paint more beautifully; the figures really seemed alive.*

Outside this palace is a chapel completely covered with tissue (*restagno*) of gold and silver. On one side of the chapel is an altar, dedicated to the saint whose name the King bears, and on the other a similar altar consecrated to the Queen's patroness, both being most richly adorned with admirably painted altar-pieces, and ornaments necessary for the altar, all of massive gold, such as crosses, chalices, patens, paxes, basins, crewets, censers, and the like. The cloths in front of the altars are embroidered with pearls and precious stones of inestimable price. There are also two desks, at which the King and Queen kneel during the mass, the space being enclosed with cloth of gold, the canopy and cushions being of the same material. From these two great desks, through two large windows, there is visible the lower chapel, marvellously adorned with tapestry in like manner, with a highly decorated altar, where there are the seats of the chaplains who sing the mass and other divine services.

The King of France dined in the palace with the Queen of England. They were seated at the centre of the table opposite to each other under a costly canopy. Cardinal Wolsey dined at one of the extremities of the table. On the other side, some three yards distant from King Francis, the sister of the King of England, *la Blanche Reine*† [Mary], widow of the late King Lewis, now Duchess of Suffolk, was placed; and no other person sat at the table. The viands were more dainty and exquisite than can be told, and their description is therefore omitted. Constantly during dinner the most excellent vocal and instrumental music was heard; a better performance was not possible. In the other halls a number of Lords and Princes who had accompanied the most Christian King dined, and after dinner there was a ball until night, the King himself dancing, and part of the time he made love to the ladies there.‡

The like form of feasting and dancing was observed with regard the King of England by the Queen of France at Ardres; the Cardinal de Boissi sat at table with the King, instead of Cardinal Wolsey, and in lieu of *la Blanche Reine* the Duchess of Alençon, the most Christian King's sister. The decoration of this [French] palace was very beautiful, but neither so beautiful nor so costly as that of England, though as a match for the palace of Guisnes, the most

* "Veramente le figure pareano vive."
† "La Regina Bianca."
‡ "Stete in amorosi rasonamenti cum quelle donne."

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Christian King pitched a marvellous tent, all of cloth of gold and tissue, with colours and figures, these cloths of gold being visible both within and without. As it was not completed on the 10th, the banquet took place in the palace within the town of Ardres.

On the morrow, the 11th, the jousts commenced, and were attended by both the Queens, with a very great number of most noble ladies, all vieing with each other in beauty and ornamented apparel, and for love of them each of the jousters endeavoured to display his valour and prowess, in order to find more favour with his sweetheart. And thus did they assemble daily to witness sword-fighting on horseback and on foot, and other tournaments and representations of war.

This lasted from the 11th of June to the 22nd, with interruptions on account of bad weather and other unavoidable causes. During this interval both parties kept open house like perfect friends, giving hope of good-will and union between these two nations, which for many years have been bred in hatred of each other; this change being effected through the wisdom and virtue of both the sovereigns, who are anxious for the peace of Christendom. . . . . .

The above-mentioned entertainments being ended, Cardinal Wolsey, on Saturday the 23rd of June, sang a solemn mass in the presence of the Kings and Queens, and of all the other princes, lords, and ladies, on the site of the conference between the two sovereigns, after which he gave plenary indulgence to all present; and the first stone was laid for the foundation and erection of a beautiful Church, entitled, "Our Lady of Friendship" (*nostra Dona de la Amistà*), to be built, provided with sacerdotal ornaments, and endowed at the cost of the two Kings; and such a number of chaplains is to be appointed as shall seem fit to them.

They also agreed, at their common cost, to build in that valley a very handsome palace, promising to visit each other there once every year.

On the 24th, the day of St. John the Baptist, they separated, both being in tears (as were well nigh all the others), by reason of the tender love contracted by them reciprocally; the most Christian King returning to Paris, and the King of England to Calais; both being not a little anxious still to remain together.

Every faithful Christian should pray God to render this fraternal union of the two Kings perpetual, for the benefit of Christendom and the advancement of our religion.

Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.

[*Italian.*]

June 8.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 525–527.

70. GIOVANNI BADOER and ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

Badoer arrived at the Court late on the 4th, and on the morrow went with Giustinian to the most Christian King, who was with four English gentlemen of authority, namely the Lord Prior of St. John's [Sir Thomas Docwra], the Governor of Calais [Sir John Peachey], the Captain of Guisnes [Sir Nicholas Vaux], and a fourth, whose name they did not remember.

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The King, after some little delay, came forth from a chamber with the four English gentlemen into the hall, where they (Badoer and Giustinian) were. The King said that Cardinal Wolsey and many other English ministers had been to him several times, but he did not explain the purport of their negotiations. The interview with the King of England would take place on the morrow.

At 5 p.m. three guns were fired in the English camp as a signal for their Majesties to mount on horseback. This King Francis did, being preceded first by some 400 gentlemen on horseback in excellent array; and in advance of the King's person were others, with the guard of the hundred Switzers on foot. Immediately before the King went the Constable, holding in his hand a drawn sword, he and his horse being most richly apparelled; the Master of the Horse who preceded him bearing another sword, which was sheathed, and his apparel being no less sumptuous; the Admiral carrying his symbol, the whistle, both he and his horse being covered with jewels, pearls, and other ornaments.

The King was followed by all the princes of the blood, and the ambassadors, on very handsome horses, all clad in gold and silver "*soprarizo*" [*query*, tissue], the ornaments of the horses being of the same material. First, Monsr. d'Alençon, with the Papal Legate [Bibiena?] on his right hand; then the Duke of Lorraine, with the Imperial ambassador; then Badoer, with Monsr. de Vendome; then Antonio Giustinian, with Monsr. de St. Pol, the brother of Monsr. de Vendome; the Ferrarese ambassador, with Monsr. de Lautrec; other personages following in succession; after whom came the guard of halberdiers on horseback. The captains of the two guards did not allow anybody to approach. Whilst on the march several messages were exchanged between the Kings, by a number of gentlemen, to enforce observance of the articles stipulated, that none of the princes of the blood should carry arms, but only King Francis himself, who rode a most beautiful bay horse, which, as it surpassed all the others in beauty, so did the apparel and caparisons of rider and horse exceed those of all others in magnificence.

Thus they proceeded as far as the descent into a valley, in which was a tent of gold "*soprarizo*" [tissue?], the "*tiracha*" being of silver "*soprarizo*." On arriving at the descent, the King commanded Monsr. de Lautrec to make all halt. His Majesty alone, with the Constable, the Admiral, and the Master of the Horse proceeded into the valley, and the King of England did the like. They met at a short distance from the tent, and having saluted each other on horseback, dismounted at the same moment and lovingly embraced; after which they entered the tent (the most Christian King standing on the right), each sovereign being accompanied by the three personages with whom he had descended into the valley. When they had remained thus no long while, Cardinal Wolsey entered the tent, and shortly afterwards all came forth, and having continued a short time in front of the tent, took leave of each other caps in hand, making mutual obeisances.

Lix [Linck?], 8th June 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd June.* [*Italian.*]

1520.
June 8.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 527.

71. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with Henry VIII., to the SIGNORY.

The King of England quitted Calais on the 5th, at 3 p.m., and, accompanied by the Papal nuncio, the French ambassador, and by him (Surian), went to Guisnes.

On the 7th, at 5 p.m. (*cercha horre* 20), Cardinal Wolsey having returned from the French Court, King Henry gave the signal by three cannon shots, and quitted Guisnes, accompanied by all the lords and barons, and by the ambassadors, proceeding towards the place appointed for the future interview. Whilst on the march the French Court sent certain delegates to inspect the number of the King's retinue and guard, amounting to some 4,000 (*sic*) infantry, whether they bore arms or not, and found that, according to the articles, they carried no weapons. The like inspection was made by the English with regard to the French, and with the same result.

The march continued thus as far as the spot where the procession halted, when the King, Cardinal Wolsey, and the Marquis of Dorset (who carried the drawn sword), on horseback, and the Master of the Horse and the English ambassador accredited to the King of France (and who had then returned to King Henry), walking, proceeded to the tent.

The negotiations of the two Kings and Cardinal Wolsey concerned an adjustment of the disputes between the Emperor and King Francis; and, *inter alia*, they were endeavouring to arrange a conference with the Emperor, who was at a short distance thence.

Dated 8th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 8.
San uto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 19.

72. PAULO CAMILLO TRIULZI to ————.

Yesterday the two Kings had an interview, at 6 p.m.

Our King was accompanied by the Constable, the Admiral, and by three on foot to hold the horses.

With the other King were the Master of the Horse of England, and the Cardinal, and three on foot.

On Sunday England will come here to sup with the Queen. Our King will go to sup with the other Queen.

On Monday the jousts will commence. There will be as close a union between these Kings as if they were brothers.

The King of England is a handsome prince, the most jovial (*allegro*) I ever saw, and seems as well pleased with this interview as if he had gained a great realm. I have seen a temporary house built by him, said to have cost 100,000 francs, the handsomest ever beheld; never did I see so beautiful or so costly a palace. The [French] King's tent is a stupendous sight.

Ardres, 8th June 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 8.
Mantuan Archives.

73 SOARDINO, Mantuan Ambassador at the Court of France, to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

Cardinal Wolsey had held a long conference with the King of France. On the morrow the Admiral went to Calais to confer with the King of England. On the following days great personages

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passed to and fro between the two Courts; and Cardinal Wolsey had two long conferences, which were attended only by the most Christian King, the Admiral, the Chancellor [Anthony Duprat], Robertet, and the Bishop of Paris. Cardinal Wolsey was accompanied by two other Englishmen, and besides discussing the manner in which the meeting was to take place, a negotiation (not yet concluded) was treated for the Emperor's attendance at this conference, he being in Flanders at 20 leagues from Ardres. On the eve of the Corpus Domini the King of England went from Guisnes (where he arrived on the preceding day from Calais) with the Queen, to the site of the lists, where Mons. de Lautrec received his promise to meet the King of France on the morrow, an Englishman receiving a similar promise from his most Christian Majesty. On Thursday morning Cardinal Wolsey returned to Ardres and dined with the King in state, the Lord Steward [Sieur de Boissi] waiting at table. After dinner so many difficulties arose that it was feared the conference would not take place; but at length all was arranged.

Cardinal Wolsey having quitted Ardres after dinner at about 3 p.m. and returned to Guisnes, the [French] procession moved to the appointed spot, which was a valley within the English territory, about one and a half mile beyond the French borders, where two mounds, one on each side of the valley, were raised expressly for this occasion, distant a bow-shot one from the other; and in the midst of the valley a tent of cloth of gold was pitched. Chatillon, Marshal of France and governor of Picardy, rode first, and after him the princes. . . . . The most Christian King rode the "bay jumper" * of the Mantuan stud, "which your late father gave him at Milan."

After his Majesty, Mons. d'Alençon, side by side with the Papal nuncio, followed.

All the princes—including Lorraine and Vendôme—brought their ladies, and the Princesses of Navarre were also there.

The cavalcade having commenced their march, Chatillon was sent to number the English troops, an Englishman having come to number ours. Chatillon reported that the English had some 1,500 foot men more than their [stipulated] number. His Majesty replied, "Having come thus far, I will not fail to keep my promise, and gratify my wish, on this account," and ascended the mound, "on our side." The King of England did the like in the opposite direction, and their respective companies being ranged in line along the two mounds, the Kings quitted them, and met each other in the centre of the valley. The most Christian King was accompanied by the Constable and the Admiral on horseback, and by the Master of Horse on foot, with a few stirrup men. With the King of England were Cardinal Wolsey, his Constable, his Master of the Horse, and stirrup men in like manner. . . . . .

Lisen [Linck ?], 8th June 1520.

P.S.—The English had few horses compared with ours, perhaps less by one half. The French were the more richly and more

* "Il morello saltatore."

1520.

elegantly dressed,* for although the English had much gold, there was no comparison as regards elegance and costliness; but they were superior both in the quantity and thickness of their gold chains. Of their horses, but few were coursers. The King wore a garment of ribbed cloth of silver, a cap of black velvet with a plume of black feathers, the collar of the Garter round his neck, and a massive gold girdle. He rode a bay (*morello*) Neapolitan courser, on whose trappings and headpiece were a number of bells nearly the size of an egg, and which from their sound were of gold. Besides his own foot-guard of 100 halberdiers, he had a band of some 3,500 men on foot, all with swords and bucklers in the English fashion, so that, including horse and foot, he had upwards of 6,000 fighting men. Our force might amount to 3,000 horse and 1,000 foot, including the Switzers, and stirrup men in attendance on their masters' horses.

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxviii. p. 503.

74. ALVISE GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Friar Martin Luther, in Germany, is very much followed by the Duke of Saxony and other Lords (*Signori*), who have written in his defence to the Pope, telling him to send any one he pleases to dispute with Luther, who will show that what he preaches and says is perfectly true, and based on the words of Christ.

Dated the 9th. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Sanuto Diaries. v. xxix. p. 1.

75. FRANCESCO CORNARO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor Charles V., to the SIGNORY.

On the 6th June the Emperor was at Ghent, awaiting the result of the interview between the Kings of France and England, at which Cardinal Wolsey was endeavouring to make peace between the Emperor and France. He (the Cardinal) wishes a triple conference to be held. Tomorrow the Emperor departs for Brussels, to hold a parliament; after which he is to have another conference with the King of England, as a demonstration merely, and will then go to Aix-la-Chapelle for his coronation as King of the Romans.

Ghent, 10th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 20.

76. PAULO CAMILLO TRIULZI to ———.

Yesterday the two Kings were together in the lists for two hours, and exchanged the horses they rode. This morning our King went to dine with the Queen of England, and the King of England came to dine here. Tomorrow the jousts will commence. We shall not leave this place for 12 days.

Ardres, 10th June 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 10–21. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 23.

77. GIOVANNI BADOER and ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

Early in the morning of the 10th the most Christian King went with 10 of his attendants to the Castle of Guisnes. The King of England

* "Molto più richamente vestiti et con più galla."

1520.

immediately went to meet him, and having embraced each other the King of England gave him a collar of jewels and pearls of great value. After remaining a short while, the King of France returned, but first gave in exchange to the King of England his gold bracelets studded with jewels of great value, and doubting whether the gift was an equivalent for the present received, he sent in addition six coursers of great price.

The next morning the King of England came to see the most Christian King at Ardres before he was out of bed. On the 25th the most Christian King will go to Paris; and the English King is again to confer with the Emperor, who is now at Brussels, but who is to come to Gravelines, four miles from Calais.

Dated 10–21 June. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 10–25. **78.** Count Alexandro Donato to Z. F. Griti.

[Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 42–44.

On Sunday the 17th, the most Christian King and his mother were to go to Guisnes to dine with the Queen of England; the King of England going to Ardres to dine with the French Queen, accompanied by his sister *la Blanche Reine* (*Regina bianca*), wife of the Duke of Suffolk. The Kings were to leave their lodgings simultaneously, to meet half way, and then proceed to their respective destinations.

The most Christian King without notice anticipated the hour, and with only 10 horsemen went to Guisnes, and entered the courtyard of the castle. On hearing this the King of England hastened below, and embraced him. King Francis said, "My brother, here am I your prisoner." . . . . . .

On the 19th the King of England went suddenly to Ardres with only three companions, and entered the chamber of the most Christian King when he was scarcely out of bed. . . . . .

On Saturday the 23rd, Cardinal Wolsey sang high mass in the presence of the Kings and Queens, and of Madame, on the spot where the sovereigns held their first conference, and as Cardinal Legate gave plenary indulgence to all present, and the first stone was laid for the foundation of a beautiful church to be entitled "*Notre Dame de la meste.*"* . . . . . .

Then on the 24th, the day of St. John the Baptist, the two Kings took leave of each other, not without tears.

Dated from the 10th to the 25th of June.

Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.

[*Italian.*]

June 10–26. **79.** Giovanni Badoer and Antonio Giustinian, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 39.

On —— June, at the usual site of the conferences, high mass was sung by Cardinal Wolsey in the presence of the Kings and Queens and lords; after which the two Kings took leave of each other with very great marks of good will. The Queen of England gave a very beautiful diamond and a ruby in a ring to the most

* L'Amitié? See p. 55.

1520.

Christian King; and the Queen of France gave two other rings of equal value to the King of England. The Kings gave orders for building a church and a palace on the border, at their common cost. The most Christian King then departed for Boulogne and the King of England for Calais, the latter intending to go to Gravelines for an interview with the Emperor.

Dated 10–26 June. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 20.

80. Letter from the French Court, dated 11th June, sent to the College by the Signory's Governor Triulzi.

The King of England and all the English nobility are at Guisnes two miles from Ardres, where the most Christian King is with all the nobility of France.

They have two camps with a great quantity of magnificent tents. On Corpus Christi Day they held a conference in the country, on the borders of the French and English Pale.

The King of France was always on the right hand, and his retinue more numerous and in more costly apparel, namely in gold and silver brocade, for velvets, satins, and other silks were held in no account. His cavalry the best.

The King of England had a handsome retinue, richly clad, and each of his gentlemen wore a massive gold chain round his neck, and they were superbly dressed. There was no great difference between the nations, save that the French were in greater number.

The two Kings each wore a treasure of pearls, diamonds, rubies, and other stones.

In stature, beauty, grace, and address in jousting there is little difference between them, save that the King of France appears to me rather the taller, and the English King has rather the handsomer face and more feminine, though in truth they are two very fine men, and have a splendid retinue.

On the following Saturday, the 9th, they met in the lists.

On Sunday the King of France went to dine at Guisnes with the English Queen, and the King of England came to dine at Ardres with the Queen of France.

On Monday the Kings went to the lists, and remained together in a wooden house upwards of three hours, and then, having armed, each attended by seven companions, jousted upwards of three hours, and many spears were broken. The two Kings bore themselves valiantly, especially the King of France, who shivered spears like reeds, and never missed a stroke; but there was little choice, for in truth the English behaved well.

The Queen of England came first, with many ladies, both in waggons and on horseback, superbly arrayed, and in like manner the Queen widow of the late King Lewis.

Then followed the Queen of France, with the King's mother [Louise] and his sister the Duchess of Alençon, the Duchess of Lorraine, the Duchess of Bourbon, the Duchess of Longueville, and other ladies. The French women were better arrayed and handsomer than the English, and the two Queens, who had not yet seen each other, exchanged greetings and compliments, the Queen of France being

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always on the right hand; and then both Queens went in procession into a place sumptuously prepared for them. The French and English lords and ladies assembled in a wooden house to see the jousters, some 40 in number.

Today, in like manner, they have recommenced jousting.

The King of England has built a banqueting house of timber; one of the handsomest and costliest ever witnessed, and so well adorned with carpets, satins, and taffeties of various colours as to appear a miracle, and the French hold it in great account. The King of France has pitched a tent covered with gold brocade, said to have cost 300,000 ducats; the Queen also has a very handsome one, and the King's mother a third, and there are others both rich and beautiful.

On the day of the first conference between the two Kings, from 3,000 to 4,000 men, horse and foot, were hidden about the country, within call of the King [Francis,] but this was a secret, as the number of persons allowed to attend the conference was limited. The King of England got some hint of this, and as King [Francis] had more troops actually present than the stipulated amount, the King of England took umbrage, and well nigh determined to withdraw; but when King Francis heard of this, he desired all, under pain of the gallows, to return to the village of Ardres, save those of the King's household; and thus upwards of 2,000 horse went back. On hearing this, the English King proceeded without hesitation.

The King of England had many troops with him, but inferior in number to the French.

I visited the English camp with the agent of the Cardinal de' Medici, and they allowed us to follow the King, and thus we witnessed the interview. Many cardinals and bishops were there as spectators, including Cardinal Wolsey, now Legate, who, when he came the first time on behalf of his King to visit King Francis at Ardres, was accompanied by 400 horse, gentlemen, and archers, and others of his own household, all dressed in crimson velvet; the 150 gentlemen all wearing massive gold chains; and though not well mounted, they formed a gallant company, and were highly commended by the French. In short, the English managed their business well, and are valiant; so their prowess is now admitted, and they have done themselves honour, though the French excel them in several points.

Liches [Linck?], two miles from Ardres, 11 June 1520.

Registered by Sanuto, 5th July.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Mantuan Archives.

81. SOARDINO, Mantuan Ambassador at the Court of Fronce, to the MARQUIS of MANTUA.

On Saturday, at about the 20th hour, the Kings, each accompanied by 50 mounted gentlemen, and 100 archers, rode simultaneously to the lists.

The most Christian King rode "*Dappled Duke*," of the Mantuan stud, already mentioned, and the English King admiring the horse greatly the most Christian King made him a present of it, dismounting on the spot, and thus they exchanged steeds; the

1520. most Christian King accepting as a gift the one ridden by the King of England, which was a Neapolitan courser, but far inferior to "*Dappled Duke.*"

The next day the most Christian King went to Guisnes, to dine with the Queen of England, and the English King came to dine at Ardres with the most Christian Queen. The two Kings mounted on horseback at the same moment, according to the signal guns. . . . . The most Christian King arrived thus at Guisnes, where a house had been built, the like of which was perhaps never seen, for it was constructed in a short time, of wood and canvas, and resembled one of the palaces described by Count Matheo Maria [Bojardo] in the "*Orlando Innamorato*," or in Ariosto's "*Orlando Furioso*."* . . . The dinner was served solely by Englishmen, with the exception of the cupbearer, who was French. None but Frenchmen were admitted into the banqueting room as spectators; the only English present were those who served.

Amongst other remarkable things at this display were two cupboards, on one of which were many vases of massive gold, and set with beautiful jewels. From these vases the King and Queen were served. On the other cupboard were vases, also of massive gold, but not set with jewels, and these served for the other guests at the royal table. There was besides an infinite number of silver-gilt vases. . . . . .

The most Christian Queen at Ardres received the King of England in similar state.

He wore a garment of cloth of gold, and in the belt across the breast was a treasure of jewels, principally rubies and diamonds. The folds of his doublet were loaded with precious stones. Round his neck was a stone, supposed to be a carbuncle, bigger than a "*Mocenigo*" ducat; and in his cap another large stone, supposed to be a ruby. Englishmen alone were admitted into the banqueting hall, and no Frenchmen save those who served. . . . . .

The next day the Kings jousted at 2 p.m. Each King with his band were eight in number.

Against the two Kings the challengers ran two bands of Frenchmen, and two of Englishmen. The first French band was that of the Duke of Alençon, the other that of the Admiral [Bonnivet]. Of the two English bands one was that of the Admiral [the Earl of Surrey], the other, that of a certain Duke whose name I cannot remember.† Few spears were shivered, and no notable strokes were made, save in one encounter, when the King of England's spear was splintered, but his hand received no injury. The lists were without counter-lists, so that the horses often swerved, and strokes were made but rarely. The tilting commenced at 4 or 5 p.m., and lasted until after 7.

The English Queen was the first to ascend the gallery or platform (*palco*) raised in the stockade, and she had a great retinue of ladies,

* The first edition of the "*Orlando Innamorato*," by Bojardo, was printed at Scandiano, between the years 1495 and 1499. The "*Orlando Furioso*" was first published at Ferrara, in April 1516. In note at p. 55, "*Rutland Papers*," it is stated that Sir Edward Belknap had the charge of the construction of the palace at Guisnes.

† It must have been the Duke of Buckingham, as Hall writes that the Duke of Suffolk was in the King's band.

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who were neither very handsome nor very graceful; they were ornamented in the English fashion, and were not richly clad. There were some 40 ladies on hackneys or hobbies trapped with gold and velvet, and about six waggons [or chariots], covered with gold and velvet, for their accommodation.

The Queen of England being placed on the platform, the most Christian Queen arrived in a litter, accompanied by 40 ladies of high rank, richly dressed and with jewels, and mounted on 40 hackneys. There were also seven waggons occupied by the waiting maids.

Saw 40 of the English ladies ranged in front of the platform. One of the number took a large flask of wine, and putting it to her lips, drank freely, and then passed it to her companions, who did the like and emptied it. Not content with this, they drank out of large cups, which, during the joust, circulated more than 20 times amongst the French lords and those English ladies.*

Lisen [Linck?], 12th June 1520.

[*Italian.*]

June 12–19. Sanuto Diaries, vol. xxix. p. 44.

82. LETTER from the COURT of FRANCE, seen by MARIN SANUTO.

At the banquet given on the 12th by Cardinal Wolsey, Mons. de Vendome, the Duke of Lorraine, Mons. de Lautrec, the Admiral, Mons. de Chateaubriant, Mons. de La Valle, and many others were present. The Cardinal maintains great decorum, ceremony, pomp, and formalities, and the extreme splendour of his dwelling is incredible.

Today, the 13th, it blows a terrible gale, and as the Kings were unable to joust, they went to the lists to see some Bretons and Englishmen wrestle.

Notice from Mons. de Lautrec that the King had told the Pope's ambassador that he had taken La Concordia under his protection, when the ambassador replied that the Pope had done the like by La Mirandola. Mons. de Lautrec says the Kings will part on the most friendly terms.

On the 17th, the King of England and Queen Mary came there to dine; the most Christian King and Madame [Louise] going to dine with the Queen of England.

Dated 12–19 June. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Sanuto Diaries, vol. xxviii. p. 533.

83. COUNT ALEXANDRO DONADO to GIOVANNI FRANCESCO GRITI.

On Sunday, the 10th, the King of France went to dine at Guisnes with the Queen of England, and the King of England went to dine with the Queen of France. Both banquets were superb, and followed by music, dancing, and singing; the Frenchmen making merry (*stando in feste*) with the English women, and the Englishmen with

* "Cosa notabile non m'è parso vedere che possa referire delle donne Anglese, salvo ch' io vidi da 40 donne Anglese al longo di quello palco, et fu per una di esse pigliato un gran fiascone et tiratesello alla bocca bevette assai bene; porgetelo de man in man alle compagnie (*sic*), bevendo con ditto fiascho, lo vodetteno. E non contente di quella volta credo che durando la giostra bevetteno con certi tazoni che continuo andorno in volta fra li Francesi ed donne più di volte vinte, quelle Anglese Damigelle" (*sic*).

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the French women, most especially the two Kings, who were richly clad in gold "*soprarizi*," and wore beautiful jewels.

The French King's pavilion was very spacious, and had a strong foundation of brickwork, 12 feet high, surmounted by boards painted in imitation of bricks to the height of some 30 feet. Its covering was of azure-coloured cloths with golden lilies. Within, the pavilion was hung with tapestry, and it was destined for entertainments.

Some of the tents were covered with cloth of silver and purple velvet, embroidered with gold lilies; and there were other smaller tents covered in like manner. The furniture within was of cloth of gold and silk. Describes another large pavilion, 120 feet high, covered with gold brocade, and surmounted by a St. Michael of excellent workmanship. There were also three smaller pavilions near it of the same fashion.

The house of the King of England covered four square acres. Outside the gates were two columns, one on each side; on one the God of Love, on the other "*Caritâ*" [Hospitality ?], most admirably wrought, with a Bacchus on a fountain, which on the day of the banquet spouted wine. There was a superb gate, with two towers on each side, and wooden statues, well wrought, of wild men with hand guns, stones, and crossbows, and similar statues in various niches around the building, and especially at the corners where the towers were. This gate led to a large square, with a flight of 18 steps, leading to a hall as lofty as that of the Pesaro palace at San Benetto, but longer, with a ceiling of green sarcenet (*ormexin verde*) and gold roses, decorated with hangings of silk and gold, wove with figures and horses represented to the life. This hall occupied one-fourth of the building, the rest being divided into sundry corridors, chambers, and closets, with ceilings of cloths of gold and silk, and tapestries. There was also a chamber hung with cloth of gold and silver, and a chapel with a ceiling embroidered in gold, and two closets above the chapel decorated with gold, where the King and Queen went to hear the services. In the closets were desks, on which were gold shrines and images, and an incredible quantity of jewels. Also a superb and very beautiful silver organ, with gold ornaments. Around the courtyard of the house were chambers and wine stores. The basement of the house was brickwork, to the height of 18 feet or thereabouts, surmounted by canvas painted in imitation of bricks, and above the canvas were panes of glass, the upper story being glazed as far as the roof, so as to give the appearance of being in the open air. The roof was of painted oilcloth and the chimney-pieces of stone.

On Monday, the 11th, the jousts commenced. The English arrived first, arrayed in purple and gold, with handsome plumes of feathers. The French wore white and gold, with beautiful plumes, all the horses being trapped in like manner. The two Kings tilted, and the French against the English, and the English against the French, with small rebated spears; and, after the first course, a second band tilted very gallantly.

Ardres, 13th June 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th June.*

[*Italian.*]

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Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 15.

84. LETTER from the COURT of FRANCE to the MAGNIFICO PIETRO MONTEMERLO, Royal Senator.

On Sunday, the 10th, the most Christian King went to dine at Guisnes with the Queen of England, and the King of England at Ardres, with our Queen. The most Christian King was accompanied by the Duke of Lorraine, the Dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the Admiral, Mons. de la Trimouille, Mons. de Lautrec, and many others, all clad in gold brocade.

The two Kings quitted their quarters at the same time, according to signals made by salutes of artillery. The English King met the most Christian King in the lists, half-way between Guisnes and Ardres and, having embraced each other and conversed together, they proceeded on their way, the King of England being accompanied by his chief Lords, in good array, but not to be compared to ours. When near Ardres the King of England was met by the Duke of Alençon, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and the Cardinal d'Albret, the King of Navarre, and all the gentlemen and Lords the Court. Nothing was visible but gold and silver, and fortunate the tailor who can cut suits better.

The King entered Ardres side by side with the Legate. The King wore a doublet of cloth of gold and silver tissue, and a very superb collar of precious stones. He rode a bay charger, given to him by our King the day before. The Queen and all the ladies came to the door of the hall, superbly dressed. The Queen herself was with "Madame," the King's mother, and the chief ladies. She went to meet the King outside the hall, and they embraced each other. After some little conversation they entered the hall, and the Queen accompanied him as far as the chamber where he was to repose.

With the Queen were the Lord Chancellor, Mons. d'Orval, Mons. de Memorantin, senior, and all the other great men. The four Generals each wore a collar worth 2,000 crowns. Mons. d'Esparre and Mons. de l'Escu, and the masters of requests were also there.

The hall where they dined was covered with pink brocade.

The King, having changed his dress, came into the hall and the banquet was served thus:—

First, the viands were brought from the kitchen accompanied by 24 trumpeters, who played the whole time until the dishes were placed on the table. After the heralds came 12 of the King's house stewards, in pairs, with their wands, followed by the Lord Steward [De Boissi] with a gold bâton, all embroidered, which he carried over his shoulder; all these individuals being dressed in brocade. The viands were carried by lords and gentlemen, in gold dishes with gold covers, and with each course there was vocal and instrumental music, the instruments being of various sorts, and the like was never heard before. The courses were as many as could be devised.

They remained at table upwards of four hours, and then commenced dancing. The King and many others joined, and they danced well nigh until night, when the signal gun was fired for the departure of the most Christian King from Guisnes. The King

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of England mounted on horseback, having first embraced and kissed the Queen and "Madame," and the other Duchesses,—namely, the Duchess of Alençon, the King's sister, the Duchess of Vendôme, and the Duchess of Némours,—and the other chief ladies of the Court. Accompanied by the above-named, he proceeded towards Guisnes, meeting the most Christian King at the lists, where they held a long conversation, laughing together; and, after mutual embraces, they proceeded to their respective quarters.

The most Christian King was dressed in royal cloth of silver, all slashed, the slashes being joined by silver bosses, and instead of buttons, his apparel was covered with the most beautiful pearls ever seen; and the furniture of the mule he rode resembled his own.

On Monday the 11th the jousts commenced at the lists, where a tree is planted, with a gilt trunk, and leaves of green damask. On this tree are the shields of the two Kings, France to the right and England to the left, surmounted by imperial crowns; and beneath are the shields of those who joust. There are also two wooden houses, one for each King, to arm in.

The Queens were present; first, the English Queen, in a beautiful litter covered with crimson satin, embroidered with gold in relief; next, Queen Mary in a litter of cloth of gold, wrought with lilies, and two letters, namely, an L and an M joined together, and covered with porcupines, the emblems of King Lewis. Three waggons followed, one covered with cloth of gold, one with cloth of gold on crimson, and the other with cloth of gold on azure, crowded with ladies, the rest of whom were on palfries; they were handsome and well arrayed. The Queen [Katharine?] ascended a wooden platform decorated with brocade. Then came the Queen of France in a litter of cloth of silver, wrought all over with gold knots, the horse coverings and furniture corresponding. Twelve ladies accompanied her, dressed in stiff brocade, with many jewels round their necks, and the coverings and furniture of their horses matched the Queen's litter. The Queen was dressed in cloth of silver, the under garment being of cloth of gold, and she wore a necklace of precious stones. Three waggons followed, covered like the litter, and the horses trapped in like manner; they were full of well-dressed ladies. Then came "Madame," in her litter of black velvet, with an infinite number of ladies all dressed in crimson velvet, their sleeves lined with cloth of gold, a beautiful fashion, which the English [fashion] is not. The Queen ascended the balcony (*baltresca*), where the Queen of England was, and greetings were exchanged, after which both came upon a stage (*tribunale*) to see the jousts, talking and amusing themselves, surrounded by great personages and their favourite ladies.* . . . . . .

Towards evening it commenced raining, and all went to disarm, after which the Kings ascended the ladies' stages, and amused themselves; and Mons. de St. Pol and the Master of the Horse

* Here follows an account of the jousts on that day, Monday the 11th of June, but with fewer details than in Hall.

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appeared on two horses, which were always in the air. Then the Kings and the others, having embraced, returned to their lodgings.

On Tuesday the 12th and on Wednesday the weather was bad, being windy and rainy, but the Kings were on the ground with the Queens, though there were no new devices, save that on the Tuesday Mons. de l'Esparre, the brother of Lautrec, entered the lists with a band to attack the Kings, who, however, were not armed, but only their attendant companions.

Today, although the wind was high, and the weather bad, the Kings armed, each with three companions. With the most Christian King were the Duke of Vendome, Mons. de St. Pol, his brother, and Mons. [Anne] de Montmorency, dressed in murrey velvet, embroidered with golden letters, forming the motto "*Quando*" around, and many other devices.

The King of England had with him the Duke of Suffolk, the husband of Queen Mary, the Duke Mirlot [*sic;* Marquis of Dorset], and the Captain of Calais [Peachey], dressed in gold tissue and russet velvet, embroidered with branches, and their doublets and horse coverings were wrought with handsome gold flowers.

Against the Kings came Mons. de la Trimouille, with his band of 12, all dressed in black velvet, with pennons and plumes. Each man ran eight courses against the attendants.

Mons. de l'Escu entered next, with 12 others dressed in black velvet and brocatel, with black plumes, each of whom in like manner ran eight courses. The King of England and Mons. de l'Escu tilted against each other, and both did well; and after the joust Mons. de l'Escu gave the English King the fine horse he rode.

Mons. de Lautrec is always in attendance on our Queen [Claude]. They will remain here for this month, and attend to nothing but jousts and banquets.

The Emperor is at Ghent. According to report the King of England is negotiating peace between him and France. The two Kings are never happy unless together.

Dated 14th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 15. Mantuan Archives.

85. SOARDINO, Mantuan Ambassador at the Court of France, to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

On the 12th, four French and English challengers ran three courses, two against Englishmen and one against Frenchmen; as it was windy they ran badly. The two Queens were not at the stockade, but Queen Mary and other English ladies were present. The Duchess of Alençon, with the French ladies, did not come. Madame de Vendome, Madame de Lautrec, Madame la Grande [wife of the Lord Steward, De Boissi], and many other ladies of the Court were there, and brought a number of maids. The wind being high, there was no further tilting, but the two Kings witnessed wrestling by Breton and English wrestlers and archery. The English were superior in wrestling, but the best wrestlers of Brittany were not present.

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On the morrow, Thursday, the two Kings and the two Queens went to the stockade at mid-day.

* * * * *

The head-dress of the English Queen was in the Spanish fashion, with the tress of hair over her shoulders and gown, which last was all of cloth of gold; and round her neck were most beautiful jewels and pearls. She was in a litter, covered completely with cloth of gold, embroidered with crimson satin foliage, which was also wrought with gold. The litter was open, with certain small gilt columns, like a triumphal car—a very beautiful sight. The horses and the pages were all covered in like manner, as also the 40 hackneys of her ladies and the six waggons.

The challengers on that day were eight—the two Kings, three Frenchmen, and three Englishmen. The wind was so strong, that of the five spears which tilted three were lost. The bands were four—two French, those of Trimouille and L'Escu, and two English, all in brocade and gold tissue and velvets. The most Christian King rode the Neapolitan courser given him by the King of England, but it did not do him good service. The English King and his companions were dressed in biparted garments. One half cloth of silver, the other gold, silver, and black velvet,* the horse coverings and dresses of the horsemen in attendance being of the same description.

All, owing to the wind, did very ill, and an infinity of spears were lost, but they continued tilting until evening.

Dated 15th June.

[*Italian.*]

June 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 2.

86. Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador at the Court of England, to the Signory.

Communicated the Turkish newsletters to Cardinal Wolsey, who said he had subsequent advices, and that whenever the Signory desired to obtain some object, they put forward news from Turkey.

[Guisnes?], 16th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 16–17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 1.

87. Giovanni Badoer and Antonio Giustinian, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the Signory.

Jousts performed daily; on the 17th attended them with the King. Reported in the Court that Cardinal Wolsey would make terms between the Emperor and France, as follows:—the most Christian King to have the duchy of Burgundy, and the Emperor the duchy of Milan. Mentioned this report to the King of France, who replied he did not intend to make any fresh agreement; that the Catholic King should abide by the promise already given him, he, on his part, having done the like; and that in eight days he should remove with the Court to Paris. Madame [Louise] answered in like manner, as also did Robertet. The report continuing, returned to the King, and requested him in any arrangement made with the Emperor to bear in mind the Signory's interests. Were desired by

* "Mezo di tela d'argento, l'altre parte oro argento et veluto negro."

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his Majesty not to be apprehensive, as he did not mean to make any change.

Lis [Linck?], 16 and 17 June. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st July.* [*Italian.*]

June 18. Sanuto Diaries, xxviii. p. 534.

88. LETTER from the Court of France to the MAGNIFICO PIETRO MONTEMERLO, Royal Senator [of Milan].

The King of England has had a house built, the foundation of brickwork, to the height of about 12 feet above ground, the rest of timber, painted externally in imitation of brickwork. The building is so well designed, that the writer believes that the Florentine master, Leonardo,* could not have done so well or so judiciously.† On one side is the King's lodging, on the other, the Queen's; and between them, two very large banqueting halls. On another side is the lodging of the Cardinal; and on the fourth, the lodgings of the Duke of Suffolk and of Queen Mary, the King's sister.

Beneath the building is a cellar, containing some 3,000 butts of the choicest wines in the world. One cannot go there without tasting them, for visitors are compelled both to eat and drink. Never was such abundance witnessed as in this house. In the banqueting halls there are five or six cupboards, all full of vases and flasks of gold, and sundry other golden vessels, forming the most stupendous sight in the world.

Behind the building, adjoining it, is a chapel, also built of timber and canvas, but the ceiling entirely of gilt wood. All around was a frieze, gilt most richly, and below the frieze, the entire decoration was of gold brocade. There is a most costly altar, the parapet being wove throughout in gold and silk, the altar-piece likewise being wrought in the same manner with figures, some persons supposing it to be needlework. Also a massive gold crucifix, studded with pearls, 4½ feet high; and six saints of massive gold, each upwards of 3 feet high. The chapel is, moreover, furnished with a very beautiful organ, and an organist who played admirably.

Over the chapel are two closets, one for the King, the other for the Queen [Katharine], so that they may attend mass without coming downstairs. Both the closets are hung with gold brocade, and have canopies of the same material. Each closet has likewise its altar, on which are divers golden images, but not so large as the others in the great chapel.

Guisnes, 18th June 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th June.* [*Italian.*]

June 18. Sanuto Diaries. v. xxviii. p. 520.

89. ALVISE MARIN, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the SIGNORY.

The first interview between the Kings of France and England took place on the 7th between Ardres and Guisnes. All those who accompanied their Majesties carried no weapons but swords. When the two Kings were at a bowshot's distance from one another, each

* Leonardo da' Vinci died at Fontainebleau, on 2nd May 1519.

† "Non avria saputo fare si ben e con tanta ragione."

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being accompanied by only three horsemen, they advanced and exchanged greetings, and then remained alone under a tent for half an hour; after which the others approached the tent.

On the morrow, the King of England was to give a banquet to the most Christian King; and the Emperor would confer with King Francis in the course of this interview.

Dated 18th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Mantuan Archives.

90. SOARDINO, Mantuan Ambassador at the Court of France, to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

On the 15th, although it blew a gale, there was tilting at the lists; but the Kings did not arm, neither were the two Queens present, though other French and English ladies attended. The Kings amused themselves during the courses, part of the time on horseback, and part with the ladies. The two bands that tilted were French, the one that of La Trimouille, the other that of the Marquis of Saluzzo. They all in general tilted badly, on account of the wind, with the exception of the Marquis of Saluzzo, who shivered seven spears, and touched the eighth. To the present time no one has broken as many as he.

On the 16th, the two Kings tilted, and the Queens were present. The most Christian King rode the "*Mantellino*," which carried him very well for 12 courses, and then commenced swerving, as there were no counter lists, and he was obliged to change his horse. Two bands of Englishmen, each numbering 15 men, richly and elegantly clad, tilted against the challengers, and all very well.

On the Sunday there was no tilting, but the most Christian King, with Madame, his mother, went to dine with the English Queen at Guisnes, and the King of England came to Ardres to dine with the most Christian Queen, accompanied by Queen Mary. It had been arranged for the two Kings to depart at the same hour, but the most Christian King quitted Ardres with his mother so much before the appointed time that he got to Guisnes ere the other King was on horseback, and having dismounted, went straight to the palace inside the castle of Guisnes; whereupon the King of England hastened to meet him, returning thanks for such a token of security, and then rode to Ardres.

The banquets were given thus:—the most Christian King dined apart; the Queen [Katharine] and Madame at one table, but Madame a little below on the left hand; and Cardinal Wolsey gave a dinner to the Princes who accompanied the King. After dinner there was dancing, and a masquerade.

At the table with the King of England there dined the Constable [Bourbon], the Duke of Suffolk, Mons. de Vendome, another English Prince, and Mons. de Lautrec. Then at the head of the table near the King there sat the Admiral [Bonnivet]. With the Queen there sat Queen Mary, on the left hand, but so near as to be under the canopy. Both were well dressed and adorned with jewels, and, above all, both wore most beautiful pearls. After dinner, the dances commenced, Queen Mary being the first to dance.

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After a while the English King appeared masked with a handsome company. First, six German drummers dressed in silk of his colours. Then four couples of Eastlanders (*Olachai*)* also masked, with doublets of crimson velvet and gold brocade in stripes, and red and yellow hose in like manner, with short mantles of crimson velvet lined with gold brocade, and red hats on their heads, of the German fashion, with yellow plumes. Next came five couples dressed in long gowns of murrey satin down to their feet, such as were worn of old by doctors in England, embroidered with mottoes in English letters unintelligible to us.† Then followed five other couples (including the King), dressed in long gowns in the Milanese fashion, chequered, with hoods of gold tissue and gold brocade, and caps instead of hats. After entering the hall, they danced until very late, and then, having changed their apparel, returned home.

On the morrow, Monday, there was jousting. The Kings did not tilt, neither were the two Queens present, but there were other English and French ladies. Many spears were shivered, most especially by the challengers. The two Kings passed the time partly on horseback, and partly with the ladies. At the close, the most Christian King gave the English King six chargers, amongst which were the "dappled Mozaurcha" mare, and "Messer Ludovico's sorrel horse." The mare showed herself off to the greatest advantage, and Thomaso put them all through their paces.

Today the tilting will terminate, and the sword-fighting on foot will follow. According to report, the Kings remain together the whole of the present week, and for two or three days of next week.

This morning the English King came unexpectedly to Ardres, as if riding post, with a few persons, and dismounting at the house of the most Christian King, ran to his chamber, and found him only just out of bed. Such good greeting was exchanged, that it is impossible to detail one half of it. They dined together without ceremony, and then accompanied each other to the lists, the two Queens being also present there, but the Kings did not tilt. The whole court of France rejoices, for until now no mark of confidence had been displayed by the English King; nay, in all matters he invariably evinced small trust; but the most Christian King has compelled him to make this demonstration, having set the example by placing himself with such assurance in his hands last Sunday in the Castle of Guisnes.

Lisien [Linck ?], 19th June 1520.

[*Italian.*]

June 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 24–25.

91. GIOVANNI BADOER and ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

Some days previously, the most Christian King mounted on horseback early, with only 10 attendants, and went to Guisnes to see the King of England, who embraced and thanked him, and took from his own neck a collar of precious stones and gave it him. The most Chris-

* See Hall, p. 615.

† The mottoes were "*Adieu Jeunesse.*" See Hall, as above.

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tian King took off jewelled bracelets of great value and gave them to the King of England, who thereupon departed and came to Ardres, to the Queen of France, where there was a masquerade and a ball. The most Christian King dined with the Queen of England, and danced and conversed with the ladies. Towards evening the Kings departed, and met midway, the King of England being with some 30 companions, masked and dressed in the Greek and Albanian cavalry fashion, their apparel being of cloth of gold and velvet. On meeting the most Christian King he unmasked, and after laughing awhile together they proceeded on their way.

On the morrow the King of England came to see the most Christian King in bed, and afterwards dined with him. After dinner they went to the lists to see the jousting, and the most Christian King sent for six very beautiful chargers, and gave them to the King of England, who was much pleased with them, as his stable is not well stocked.

Subsequently Cardinal Wolsey gave a banquet to the bishops, abbots, and foreign ambassadors at the Courts of France and England, in number 20. The guests ate off gold, and drank from golden vessels. After dinner, they arranged for his right reverend Lordship on Saturday to sing a mass in the valley of the conference, and there to build and endow a chapel dedicated to "*Nostra Dona de la Mirte*" (*sic*),* at the joint expense of France and England.

Cardinal Wolsey gave a small cross of precious stones, containing wood of the [true] cross, to Madame.

Madame returns to Paris with the Queen, who has entered her ninth month of pregnancy, and the most Christian King. The King of England goes to Gravelines to confer with the Emperor, who is now at Brussels.

Lys [Linck?], 21st June. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 20.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 23.

92. Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador with the King of England, to the Signory.

Cardinal Wolsey sang mass, and then gave a splendid banquet to many French and English noblemen. The three Venetian ambassadors, and those of the Pope and of the most Christian King, were present. All ate off gold. The Cardinal spoke of the love between the Kings, and said the Emperor must not aspire to greater power in Italy, nor molest the most Christian King or the Signory, whom he praised vastly.

An interview is to be held between the Emperor and the King of England. On the site of the conference of the two Kings a church, with the title of "St. Mary's of the Parliament," to be built and endowed.

———, 20th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th July.*

[*Italian.*]

* Cf. pp. 55, 60.

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June 25.
Mantuan Archives.

93. SOARDINO, Mantuan Ambassador at the Court of France, to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

On the 19th the two Kings tilted, and the two Queens were present. The two bands of the Constable and of Bonavalle also tilted.* In the afternoon the most Christian Queen went to Guisnes with the Queen of England, and banqueted there, and afterwards returned to the camp.

On the morrow and next day the bands fought with swords, the same method being observed as at the jousts.

On Saturday, St. John's Eve, the following ceremony took place in the morning:†

A chapel had been prepared on the field, opposite the stage from which the jousts were viewed. It was very large, with a lofty tribune, on which was the altar, most sumptuously furnished with ten very large silver-gilt images of saints and two large golden candlesticks, all exquisitely wrought; also a large jewelled crucifix entirely of gold, and a large golden bason and two golden vases, the one for the wine and the other for the water.

On this spot Cardinal Wolsey sang high mass, with the following ceremonies.

Two enclosures, side by side, had been prepared with tapestries and cloths of gold, in the centre of the stage opposite the chapel. In one the two Kings knelt, the most Christian King on the right hand and the English King on the left; in the other were the two Queens, the most Christian Queen on the right hand. In the same enclosure, behind, there were also Queen Mary, Madame [Louise of Savoy], the Duchess of Alençon, the Duchess of Nemours, and an English "Madama."

In the enclosure of the Kings there were the Duke of Alençon, the Constable [Bourbon], the Duke of Suffolk, the Duke of Lorraine, and Messieurs de Vendôme and de Navarre. Along the stage to the right of the most Christian King were all the other French ladies and damsels, and maids, and the lords and gentlemen; and on the other side of the stage, to the left of the [English] Queen, were the English lords and ladies.

Above, on the platform, where the chapel was prepared, there were beautiful hangings of satin, and silk, and cloth of gold.

To the right of the altar was a canopy, beneath which sat Cardinal Wolsey, who sang the mass, and was served by two English bishops; one said the Epistle, the other the Gospel. Some eight other bishops, all English, and also apparelled with mitres on their heads, were likewise in attendance, constantly accompanying him when he went to the altar, and standing before him whilst he was seated.

A little below Wolsey's canopy was a second canopy, beneath which the Legate, De Boissy, sat in his cardinal's robe and cape.

* See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii. p. 313.

† The celebration of this mass has been omitted by Hall, and as it displays the pompous manner in which Cardinal Wolsey officiated on the Field of Cloth of Gold, I translate in full the details of the ceremony, which is alluded to by Mr. Jerdan in a note at p. 46, Rutland Papers (Camden Society publication, A.D. 1842).

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Lower still by one step were seated the Cardinals Vendôme, Albret, and Lorraine.

Next sat some 12 French bishops, apparelled, and with their mitres; and they remained thus in pontifical array, without performing any other service at the mass.

All the ambassadors resident with the two Kings were likewise placed on this stage, there being seats for them, although not ranged according to degree.

The choristers of the two chapels of France and England sang this mass; the music by Perino, accompanied by an organ, with trombones and cornets.*

Cardinal Wolsey gave both the Gospel and the "Pax" to be kissed, to the two Kings and to the Cardinal de Vendôme. The most Christian King kissed them first, then the English King, then the most Christian Queen. After the Queens had kissed, he wished to present the Gospel and "Pax" to Madame, but out of respect for the Queen she declined kissing them.

Thus the mass ended, the bishops, in serving Cardinal Wolsey, having observed all such ceremonies as could possibly have been used with the Pope.

On the conclusion of the mass, one Master Richard [Pace], the English King's chief secretary, turning himself towards the two Kings from the stage where the mass had been sung, said aloud, in substance, that plenary indulgence was proclaimed for all those who had been present at this mass; not only for those who had confessed, but also for such as had not confessed, but who intended to confess themselves at the appointed seasons; and he commenced his speech, which was also in Latin, thus:—

"Certain is it that friendship may be easily contracted in absence, but subsequently it increases through presence, and, by means of colloquies and familiar conversation, becomes greater. Then again, it augments when accompanied by the prayers and blessings of the servants of God who have authority to bless, such as the Right Reverend Legate, not only in the realm of England, but in all places where his most serene King lays claim to jurisdiction. He therefore now blesses the two most potent princes, and, by the authority of our Lord Pope Leo, grants plenary indulgence, absolution, etc., to all present, beseeching each individual to pray God to maintain the friendship contracted between the two sovereigns, to the praise of the Christian faith, and for the stability of the holy Apostolic See," &c. &c.

The Legate then gave the benediction, and, this ceremony terminated, the two Kings dined together on the spot, as also did the two Queens, and all the other lords and ladies, French and English, at common cost. After dinner the combatants fought on foot, but the two Kings did not fight, and on that day the contests ended.

On the morrow, Sunday, St. John's Day, final interview between the two Kings. Account of their banquets and masqueings. Cardinal Wolsey was present when they took leave of each other. The

* "E la musica de Perino, tromboni e cornetti."

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King of England was going to Calais, and would not depart until he had spoken with the Emperor at Gravelines. On the last day but one, when the combats ended, the Master of the Horse [San Severino] tilted on a jennet, with a very heavy spear, from a saddle, without a rim or any other rest.

Ardres, 25th June 1520.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Mantuan Archives.

94. SOARDINO, Mantuan Ambassador at the Court of France, to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

When the interview was arranged, the fame of "*the tent*" [of the King of France] having reached England, from rivalry, and with a view to being equally well lodged in a different fashion, the construction of "*the house*" [of the King of England] was devised. Describes the very large diamond-shaped panes of very white glass; the external covering of oiled cloth, painted lead colour, and so marked as to give it the appearance of the [slate?] roofs of the houses in France; and the entrance hall, extending the whole length of the building, 100 paces, its breadth 17 paces; which, as the length was disproportioned to the breadth, had been divided into two by tapestry. On the left-hand side of the principal entry are two halls and a chamber for Cardinal Wolsey, the first very large, hung with silken tapestry, without gold, of astounding beauty; the second tapestried in the same fashion. In the chamber are most beautiful tapestries of gold and silk, and a very large bedstead with gilt posts, and a canopy of cloth of gold; the counterpane (which reaches the ground) and pillows being of the same material; the curtains of crimson satin. On the right hand of the entry were two other halls and a chamber for Queen Mary. The first hall was hung with very exquisite tapestry of gold and silk as above; the other with crimson velvet and gold tissue, the velvet being embroidered with the letters M.L., within a gold knot; and in certain other places were embroidered sundry porcupines, the hangings having been made when she was the wife of King Lewis. In the chamber was a bedstead with canopy and curtains of gold brocade; the hangings, like those of the halls, being of gold and silk. In the middle of the long entrance hall a small building was added, containing two oratories for the King and Queen, looking down on the very large church below, where high mass was occasionally celebrated. Describes the ornaments of the altar. Believes them to be the same as were used at the mass sung on the field by Cardinal Wolsey. Mentions the large organ. In the centre of the Queen's oratory there was a large shield bearing the arms of England and Spain. On the ground floor were offices and a very large cellar, most excellently stored with every sort of good wine—malmsies and other wines, the best that could be found in Flanders and France. In the long hall were prepared two large cupboards of silver-gilt vases, constantly used by persons drinking; and the Englishwomen never gave those bowls and flasks any rest. Then when the most Christian King banqueted there, the eating and drinking witnessed were incredible, and the odour of

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the viands very noisome; and on those occasions there was an additional and marvellous display of costly and beautiful plate, as mentioned in the description of the first banquet given to the most Christian King. As usual in England, the wooden floors of the hall and chambers were strewed with rushes, so that the planks could not be seen. Account of the statues, fountains, and kitchens, which last communicated with "the house" by means of ———.*

The French King's tent was pitched outside the walls of Ardres, near his dwelling house. The tent and pavilions remained up four days only, on account of the wind and rain, so that it became necessary to strike them, to the very great regret of the most Christian King and of all the French nobility, as they were the pride of France; who thus counterbalanced the English pride generated by the house above described.

So far as can be ascertained hitherto, no one has received any mark of honour for the jousts and sword fighting.

The two Kings exchanged presents of chargers, but the "*Mozaurca*" mare alone, of those given by the most Christian King, was worth all the horses received by him from the King of England. On the day when the King of France went unexpectedly to Guisnes, the King of England gave him a jewelled collar, and placed it round his neck. In the centre of the collar is a pendent balass,† in the shape of a heart, supposed by some to be a carbuncle.

The Queens made presents to each other; the most Christian Queen gave the English Queen a litter of cloth of gold, with its mules and pages; receiving in exchange hobbies and very beautiful palfries, well trapped. Madame gave Cardinal Wolsey a jewelled crucifix, worth 6,000 crowns; and from the most Christian King he received gold vases to the amount of 20,000 crowns. To the Admiral the King of England gave a jewel worn by him in his cap, worth about 4,000 crowns, and gold vases worth 10,000 crowns. To the Master of the Horse, who in his presence at Guisnes wielded his heavy sword and other weapons, he gave gold vases to the amount of 1,800 crowns, and a jewel worth some 1,000 crowns. To Madame de Chateaubriand he gave a crucifix worth about 2,000 crowns. To Mons. de L'Escu a gown of cloth of gold, lined with beautiful sables. To the Constable a gold cup, studded with many and beautiful jewels, worth about 6,000 crowns.

Cardinal Wolsey gave the Admiral a very large salt-cellar, all of gold, studded with a number of very beautiful jewels, and surmounted by a St. George.

Other presents of horses, etc., were made, the particulars of which cannot be ascertained. The King of England gave 2,500 crowns for the French household (*curia*). Does not know what the King of France gave in return.

Liscen [Linck?], 26th June 1520.

[*Italian.*]

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* "*Per el mezzo de Coalinie*;" query *soterranee*, subterranean passages.

† "*Balastes the Sanker.*" See Hall, p. 620.

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June 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 40.

95. BADOER, GIUSTINIAN, and SURIAN, Venetian Ambassadors to the Kings of France and England, to the SIGNORY.

After the mass celebrated by Cardinal Wolsey, the Kings and Queens and others dined on the spot. Then they fought with pikes and long swords, and both Kings comported themselves valiantly. The next day each went to the lodging of the other, being invited by the Queens to most sumptuous banquets; and they were disguised in costly apparel. After they had amused themselves, the Queen of France gave the prize and honour of the joust to the King of England, namely, a diamond and a ruby in two rings; the Queen of England doing the like by the most Christian King. In the evening the two Kings took leave, and Madame [Louise] told the writers that they did so with tears. She also said that besides the chapel they meant to build a palace on the borders, with the intention of visiting each other frequently there.

Yesterday the most Christian King departed to Terouenne; the Queen and Madame to Boulogne.

Dated 26th June. Badoer,—Giustinian,—Surian.

Registered by Sanuto, 12th July.

[*Italian.*]

June 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 47.

96. FRANCESCO CORNARO, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Conference between and the Emperor the King of England appointed for the 8th of July. Cornaro was going to Antwerp to provide horses.

Dated 26th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 47.

97. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with the King of England, to the SIGNORY.

An Imperial envoy arrived yesterday to arrange the interview between the Emperor and the King. He announced that the retinue of the Emperor, of his brother Don Ferdinand, and of the Lady Margaret, would number 300 gentlemen, and requested that 150 chambers might be assigned them, each chamber to accommodate two gentlemen. The number appearing great to the English, they hinted that it should be diminished. Notwithstanding this, great preparations had been made and were still making for this visit.

The King of England is building a house of canvas and timber, and hung with tapestry, like the one made lately for the reception of the most Christian King.

On Wednesday next, the 4th, the King will go to Gravelines and cross the boundary stream to visit the Emperor within his own territory, and reciprocate the confidence displayed by the Emperor when he landed in England. On the Friday the King will return to Gravelines to accompany the Emperor to Calais, where they are to remain together only three days, namely, from the 7th till the 10th, when the Emperor will return to Flanders, and the King to England.

Calais, 28th June 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th July.*

[*Italian.*]

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June 28.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 47.

98. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with the King of England, to the SIGNORY.

The King of England had arrived there, and would hold a conference with the Emperor, who was expected.

Had been told by Cardinal Wolsey that he relies on making peace between Spain and France.

Calais, 28th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th July.*

[*Italian.*]

[July 6 ?]
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 54.

99. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with the King of England, to the SIGNORY.

The King has promised to send 1,000 infantry, paid for six months, to succour Rhodes. Had been told this by Cardinal Wolsey, who also desired him not to fear the coming of the Emperor into Italy with an army, as the crown would be sent to him. The Cardinal is very gracious, and of great repute.

Registered by Sanuto, 23rd July.

[*Italian.*]

July 7.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 57.

100. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with the King of England, to the SIGNORY.

The King to cross a boundary stream between the English and Flemish pale. The Emperor to come to Calais and remain four days, after which the King returns to England, and the Emperor will go to Flanders.

Calais, 7th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 10.
Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 135, tergo.

101. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Had long hoped for an interview between the two powerful sovereigns, his confederates, and rejoices it should now have been effected, as, besides demonstrating the good-will borne towards the State by both the Kings, it confirmed his opinion of the ability and wisdom of his Right Reverend Lordship, who could accomplish anything, however difficult, provided it were fair and laudable; whilst the supreme authority deservedly exercised by him in the realm of England admirably facilitated this result.

On hearing, by letters from his ambassadors, that thus had it come to pass, rejoiced exceedingly; extolling the sentiments of the Kings, and the ability and address of the Cardinal. Had congratuled the King, and in like manner congratulates Wolsey, who is deservedly considered his Majesty's second self.* Congratulates him also on the reception given to the Emperor in England; and on the second interview between the sovereigns at Gravelines, devised by his (the Cardinal's) skill to the advantage of the Christian commonwealth. Returns thanks for the honorable terms in which the Cardinal spoke of the Republic at the royal conferences.

* "Quæ majestatis ejus pars altera merito esse censetur."

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Will always revere Wolsey's virtues and rare endowments, and awaits an opportunity for proving the gratitude of the State.

[*Latin*, 47 *lines*.]

July 10. **102.** The SAME to the MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF THE FRENCH.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 136.

Letter of congratulation on the interview held with the King of England.

[*Latin*.]

July 10. **103.** The SAME to the KING OF ENGLAND.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 136.

Had learned his Majesty's interview with the most Christian King. The Signory's ambassadors had announced the magnificence displayed, and the mutual graciousness, affection, and insuperable feats of both Kings. Such ample demonstrations confirm the necessity for the conference, and must prove acceptable to all Christian powers.

Is much gratified by the King's conference with the Emperor, trusting it may prove advantageous to the Christian commonwealth.

Although the Venetian ambassador had been charged to make this announcement, could not refrain from giving further assurance by word of mouth, as it were.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin*, 25 *lines*.]

July 10–12. **104.** ANTONIO SURIAN and FRANCESCO CORNARO, Venetian Ambassadors with the King of England and the Emperor, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 66.

First conferences between the Emperor and the King. The King went in disguise to the Emperor, accompanied by a Frenchman [De la Bastie] who was remaining at his Court, to report what was done at these conferences. The King, on departing, unmasked himself, and addressed the Frenchman publicly on the spot; so he chooses his understanding with France to be known.

Calais, 10–12 July. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th July.*

[*Italian*.]

July 12. **105.** BADOER and GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 57.

His most Christian Majesty had spoken of his great friendship for the King of England, who had reciprocated in most gracious terms, and had stated it was his intention to confer with the Emperor, and that King Francis was not to be apprehensive of the Emperor invading Italy, for King Henry intended King Francis to retain all his territory, which would descend to King Henry's daughter, as she was to marry his son. King Francis is of opinion England will never allow the Emperor to come with an army to crown himself in Italy.

Boesi [Poissy ?] 12th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th July.*

[*Italian*.]

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July 12.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 66-68.

106. Lodovico Spinelli, Secretary of Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador with the King of England, to his brother Gasparo Spinelli, Secretary in France of the Ambassador Badoer.

On Tuesday the 10th instant, I was present at the interview between the Emperor and the King of England. The Emperor was awaiting the King of England. He rode a bay horse, covered with crimson velvet, and having dismounted got upon a dapple grey covered with cloth of gold and silver matching his own simar. He was accompanied by the Cardinal of Toledo, Monsr. de Chievres, the Count Palatine, the Duke of Alva, his brother [Don Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria?], the Marquis of Brandenburg, clad in cloth of gold and silver, and some hundred gentlemen and knights in black velvet. The whole company did not exceed 200 in number.

The King of England wore a simar of cloth of gold and silver in chequers, and the covering of his horse, a dapple grey, corresponded. He was accompanied by Cardinal Wolsey, the Papal Nuncio, the French Ambassador [De la Bastie],* the Dukes of Buckingham and Suffolk, the Marquis, [Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset,] the Bishop of Durham, and all the members of his Majesty's Council. Only a few were dressed in cloth of gold. The company numbered upwards of 300 lords and gentlemen.

The visit was very unceremonious and without any pomp. Their Majesties moved towards each other in advance of their attendants at no very quick pace, and the King of England, *omnibus videntibus*, before embracing the Emperor, raised his hand to him, and then drew nigh. Thereupon some discussion took place about precedence. At length the Emperor, being within the English Pale, went on the right hand as far as the bridge of boats, which formed the boundary between the two territories. At this spot, after some resistance, the King of England went to the right of the Emperor, and thus entered Gravelines and proceeded to the palace prepared for him, where Madame Margaret was waiting for him in the first entrance hall. After he had embraced and kissed her, both the sovereigns entered the hall, where the repast was prepared, and the Emperor supped with the King.

Today, the 12th, their Majesties dined together at Gravelines, and afterwards came to Calais, where they arrived at seven o'clock. They entered by the Boulogne gate near the King's palace, where the Queen was waiting at the foot of the stair; and when Madame Margaret, who was accompanied by the Cardinal of Toledo, approached, she and the Queen embraced and kissed each other. The hour being then late, Madame Margaret entered her litter, which was covered with black velvet, and went to the Emperor's lodging with her company of 30 ladies dressed in black velvet, and two cars (*cari*) of another litter covered with black velvet: the Cardinal always preceding the litter of Madame Margaret.

The Emperor and the King followed, in the apparel worn by them yesterday, but on other jennet horses. Their Majesties alone presented themselves to the Queen who was awaiting them. Then the

* See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii., nos. 905, 913.

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Emperor, on the King's right hand, was accompanied by the King and all the Lords to the house of the Staple, which had been prepared for his lodging. Many of the Lords were dressed in black velvet, on account of the bad weather. After all had returned to their lodgings, Madame Margaret went with her company to visit the Queen; and the King went masked to the Emperor, who was supping alone.

The number of salutes from the artillery in token of rejoicing was incredible. This evening the banquet will be given.

Calais, 12th July 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 14–18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 88.

107. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with the King of England, to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor departed on the 14th, on his way to his own country, accompanied by the King, who doffed his bonnet on taking leave of him, and gave him two horses; and the Emperor gave two others to his Majesty. A woman* having brought the Emperor his portrait, he gave her a chain worth 500 crowns. A banquet having been prepared for the Emperor at Calais, a gale of wind carried away the canvas roof, so that the repast was of necessity served in a certain small house.† Has heard on good authority that the King told the Emperor not to think of coming into Italy to take the Imperial crown with an army, as it would displease him, because he means to be united with his brother the most Christian King. He also gave the Emperor a certain writing, which has been sent to the King of France for his approval. Details conversations held by him with Cardinal Wolsey, who says there is no fear of the Emperor's coming armed *ut supra*. He also gave a hint that he was expecting the carpets.

Calais, 14, 16, and 18 July. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th August.*

Note by Sanuto, that two days ago 60 carpets were sent, worth —— ducats.

[*Italian.*]

July 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 104.

108. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador with Henry VIII., to the SIGNORY.

The King had crossed over to England *re infectâ*, and without having come to any agreement with the Emperor, as he, the King, chooses to be French. Cardinal Wolsey had remained at Calais. They were to cross, and proceed to London. The King was taking his pleasure as usual.

Two English noblemen, the brother of the Marquis ‡ and ———, talking together, one of them said, "*If I had a drop of French blood in my body I would cut myself open to get rid of it;*" and the other replied, "*And so would I.*" The King on hearing this had

* I suspect this woman (*dona*) to have been a female artist in the pay of Henry VIII., possibly Alice Carmillian, *alias* Carmeliano, concerning whom see the "Trevelyan Papers," (Camden Society publication, 1857,) pp. 144, 148, 160.

† This "certain small house" was "The Checker." See Hall, p. 621.

‡ Lord Leonard Grey, brother of the Marquis of Dorset.

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them arrested, and they are expected to fare badly, unless the most Christian King intercedes for them.

Calais, 18th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 87.

109. GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Conversations held with the King about the interview between the King of England and the Emperor. The King of England had become entirely the friend of King Francis. The latter is not apprehensive that the former will allow the Emperor to come with an army into Italy.

Poissy, 21st July. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 21. Misti Consiglio X., v. xliii. p. 177.

110. CARPETS for CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Decree of the Council of Ten and Junta. Necessity for raising 370 ducats to pay for the carpets to be sent as a gift to the Right Reverend Cardinal of England. Put to the ballot that the remaining surplus of the Rhenish guilders belonging to the Signory in the treasury of Treviso be pledged as a security for the said sum.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian,* 10 *lines.*]

July 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 107, 108.

111. INACCURATE REPORT made to Piero Trono, Bailiff of Brescia, by Jacomo da Cazago, who professed to have received the particulars from Zuam Maria di Narbona, page of Pietro Carmeliano, Latin secretary of the King of England.

Arrival of the Emperor Charles V. at Dover, on the 5th (*sic*) May. He was accompanied by the Queen of Castile. On the way to Canterbury the King would not at first allow him precedence, but afterwards placed him on his right hand. The Emperor remained at Canterbury about a week. The King then accompanied the Emperor to the coast of Flanders, with an English fleet of 50 large ships, each of which had two fortified tops. He then returned to Calais, remained there five days, and on the 26th conferred with the King of France across a ditch of such width as to admit of their shaking hands. On the 27th they had a second interview, &c.

On the 1st of June (*sic*) the jousts commenced, and lasted a month. The first joust was between the King of France and a young English Earl named Devonshire, 18 years old, who was victorious. He received a crown, a ring, and a beautiful page, dressed like a girl, whom he carried off, believing him to be a girl, but on dismounting became aware of the trick. On the morrow the King of England jousted with a French baron, and obtained great honour and victory. On the second day the English and French fought on horseback (*sic*), on which day the French were victorious. On the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th day, and until the close, several battles were fought on foot, and the English were every day victorious. On the last day of June (*sic*), a mass of the Holy Ghost was sung in the large house above mentioned (*sic*), and the

1530.

Kings pledged their word to be faithful friends as long as they lived, naming as their allies the Pope, the King of Scotland, the King of Denmark, and the Signory of Venice.

After the departure of the King of France, the Emperor on the — of July came to Calais with all his barons and lords of Spain and Flanders. The King received him with great honour and jousts, saying, "We must live in peace in Christendom as we did with your father and grandfather Maximilian, and do you make peace with the King of France, my dear brother; and it will be well for you to go and take the Imperial crown peacefully, and then the war against the Turks will be prosecuted, to which all the other Christian kings and princes will assent." The Emperor took time to reply until the 28th July.

The reporter quitted Calais on the 22nd July.

Registered by Sanuto, 17th August.

[*Italian.*]

July 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 70, 71.

112. HIERONYMO LIPPOMANO to his son the PRIOR of the "TRINITY" at Venice.

Two days hence Dom. Hironimo Leandro, the Pope's librarian, will depart hence for Germany, with briefs, bulls, and excommunications against such as favour Friar Martin Luther.

Rome, 24th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 107.

113. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The King was at one place, and Cardinal Wolsey at another. He (the ambassador) was in London, indisposed, owing to the sea voyage.

London, 1st August. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 17. Misti Consiglio X. v. xliii. p. 187, tergo.

114. DECREE of the COUNCIL OF TEN, authorizing consignment to the College of letters or paragraphs of letters addressed to the Ten from Rome, England, or elsewhere, that they may be communicated to the Senate.

[*Latin, 15 lines.*]

Aug. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 150.

115. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey was gone to "Our Lady of ———." An ambassador [Francis de Montmorency, Seigneur de la Rochepot],* a great personage, has arrived from the most Christian King, merely to see his brother; and although there is another French ambassador in London [John de Sains, Sieur de Marigny],† the King chooses him to remain permanently.

* Brother of Anne de Montmorency, Marshal of France. He was one of the hostages sent to England by Francis I., in 1519.

† See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii. nos. 951, 953.

1520.

On the day of the Assumption, 15th August, the Signory's galleys, Zuan Moro captain, set sail for Venice, well laden, etc. The King was at his usual residence out of London, taking his pleasure here and there, and avoiding the heat.

London, 18th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26. **116.** MARTIN LUTHER. (*Note by Sanuto.*)

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 125, 126.

On Sunday the 26th, in the College, Dominus Octavian Britonico, the Patriarch's vicar, presented a printed brief from the Pope condemning the doctrine (*scientia*) and works of the Austin friar, Martin Luther, the German,* and forbidding any one under pain of excommunication to read said books, or to keep them in the house; and he asked leave to send the "captains" to the house of the bookseller Jordan, the German, at San Maurizio, to seize the aforesaid books printed in Germany, and sent for sale to Venice. The College therefore despatched Thomà de' Freschi, secretary of the Council of Ten, with said vicar to make this seizure; and they took what works he had; but I had procured one of them, and have it in my study.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. **117.** ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 259.

Had received the orders from the Signory to thank Cardinal Wolsey for his good offices at the royal interviews, and to tell him that the carpets had been forwarded. The Cardinal was expected there on the morrow, and he would speak to him.

An English ambassador was on his way to France, to dissuade King Francis from going into Italy to confer with the Pope at Bologna. This ambassador is "*Monsignor il Balij de Can*,"† who was ambassador in France heretofore, and now returns in order to persuade the King not to go [into Italy], because it would instigate the King of the Romans, when holding this present diet in Germany with the electors of the Empire, to wage war; wherefore it would be well to remain at peace. Cardinal Wolsey has written to King Francis to this effect. The Papal nuncio in England knows nothing about this journey.

San . . . , 6th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. **118.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 259.

Had thanked Cardinal Wolsey for his good offices. Concerning the carpets, the Cardinal inquired how many there were, and said he would always serve the Signory. The Cardinal said the King had sent an ambassador [Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall, Master of the

* This was probably the *Bull* dated Rome, 17 kalends of July 1520; but the words of Sanuto are "*uno breve*."

† The Bailly of Caen. He had been despatched by Francis I. to Henry VIII., in August 1520, "to hear news of him," and on his return was commissioned by Henry to deliver a message of great importance. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii. nos. 937 and 960.)

1520.

Rolls,] to the Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, for the maintenance of the peace with the most Christian King and the Signory, and in order that the negotiations on foot may be concluded. Also, that the most Christian King would do wrong to go into Italy, as he would thus cause war, and the Switzers were not with him. Also, that if the carpets had arrived at Antwerp, there would be orders exempting them from payment of duties.

Dated the 7th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 155.

119. REPORT of FRANCE made in the Senate by ANTONIO GIUSTINIAN, returned from his embassy to Francis I.

The King of France, since this last interview, is on such loving terms with the King of England that he does not suppose there is any service in the world which the King of England would refuse him. King Henry told him that should he die without male heirs he meant to leave him the regency of England, as it belonged to the Princess Mary, who had been married to the Dauphin.

The King of France maintains no friendship whatever with the Emperor, who has made him many proposals, which he declined, saying that when the Emperor went to Spain, he (King Francis) showed him all favour, and was afterwards ill treated, the Emperor neither observing the articles of the treaty of Noyon, nor surrendering Navarre, as bound thereby. The character of the Emperor is not such as entitles him to much consideration, as he is ruled by Mons. de Chievres. These sovereigns are not at peace; they adapt themselves to circumstances, but hate each other very cordially.

Registered by Sanuto, 7th September.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11.
Patti Sciolti, No. 62 (nero).

120. HENRY VIII.

Royal licence for the galley, Nicolò Trevisan master, to convey to the western parts beyond seas, from the port of London, 46 sacks and 20 cloves of wool in 43 packs, shipped by Bortolomeo Marcadello, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 46½ sacks and 23½ cloves of wool in 44 packs, shipped by Pancrazio Capello, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 60 sacks and 12 cloves of wool in 56 packs, shipped by Giovanni Meravile, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 23½ sacks and 17 cloves of wool in 22 packs, shipped by Paolo Meliano, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 30 sacks and 24 cloves of wool in 28 packs, shipped by Lodovico Trevisan, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 28½ sacks and 24 cloves of wool in 27 packs, shipped by Andrea Nicolò de Molin, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 8½ sacks and 13 cloves of wool in 9 packs, shipped by Alessandro Alberto, merchant, of Florence, an alien.

Item, 8½ sacks and 17 cloves of wool in 8 packs, shipped by Andrea Giustinian, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 2½ sacks and 17 cloves of wool in 3 packs, shipped by Filippo Alberto, merchant, of Florence, an alien.

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Item, 8 sacks and 12 cloves of wool in 8 packs, shipped by Lodovico Valaresso, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 5 sacks and 18 cloves of wool in 5 packs, shipped by Giorgio Capello, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 4 sacks and 1 clove of wool in 4 packs, shipped by Francesco Trevisan, merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item, 17 cloves of wool in one pack, shipped by Antonio de Venia (*sic*) [Venier?], merchant, of Venice, an alien.

Item 70 . . . . . tanned hides shipped by Nicolò Trevisan, mrechant, of Venice, an alien.

Received at the hands of Henry Barton and Walter Gawtron, collectors of the customs in the port of London, 11 September, 12 Henry VIII.

[*Latin*, 13 *lines. Parchment. Original, with pendent seal of green wax.*]

Sept. 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 259.

121. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The King means to fortify Calais, and the most Christian King has sent to do the like at Ardres.

This proceeding seems strange to these English, and they take it much amiss, saying it is no mark of friendship,—that within the last 100 years no fortifications had been raised at Ardres, and that according to ancient treaties it is forbidden to raise any.

The English are dissatisfied, and Cardinal Wolsey has complained to the French ambassador here; and it is believed that King Francis will not build any more walls, but only excavate the ditches.

Dr. Tunstall (*el Dotor Tunstallo*), the ambassador accredited to to the most Christian King * for this purpose, departs tomorrow.

Requests the Senate to elect his successor, that he may return home.

London, 11th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 182, 183.

122. ALVISE GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

The Pope in Consistory proposed t o make three cardinals, viz., the Bishop of Toulouse for France, the Bishop [of Worcester] De Giglis for England, and the Bishop of Liege for Spain. Toulouse alone was appointed. The other two were rejected by the Cardinals, who however gave his Holiness liberty to propose and elect two others in their stead, one for the Emperor, and the other for England.

Rome, 18th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 276.

123. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England to the SIGNORY.

The plague being very rife in ——— [Westminster?], where the

* Tunstall was not sent to France at this time, but to the Emperor. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii. nos. 969, 984). Surian has evidently confounded Tunstall's mission with that of the Bailly of Caen.

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King was, his Majesty went to Richmond, and would remain there until the plague ceased in London. His Majesty is in good health.

Had been given to understand by the French ambassador [Marigny] that the Emperor's ambassadors [Bernard de Mesa, Bishop of Elna and Tripoli, and Gerard de Pleine, Sieur de la Roche,] are endeavouring to induce King Henry to accede to their wishes, but his Majesty is firm in maintaining his friendship with the most Christian King.

London, 19th September.

In date of the 20th.—Had been informed by the French ambassador that the King of France had written to the King of England that the Provost [of Utrecht], Dom Philibert, the Emperor's ambassador, had urged him, King Francis, to renounce his alliance with the Signory and the Duke of Guelders, in which case the Emperor and France would be of one mind; and that he (King Francis) refused his consent. Thereupon King Henry sent for the Emperor's ambassadors, and told them their master did wrong to negotiate such matters, which would cause war amongst Christians; and commended the reply of King Francis. To this the Emperor's ambassadors replied that Dom. Philibert made the proposal of his own accord, and not by commission from the Emperor.

The French ambassador requested him (Surian) to keep this secret, and he purposed doing so; nevertheless, on the arrival of Cardinal Wolsey in London, as expected next Saturday, would endeavour adroitly to speak to him thereon.

Registered by Sanuto, 15th October.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 260.

124. ZUAN BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Conversed with the King at St. Germain; told him of the disturbances in Spain, and that the Emperor had complained to the Venetian ambassador that the offers made by his Imperial Majesty to the Signory had been communicated to his most Christian Majesty. The King said, "They cannot suppose it, nor will all their artifices break the friendship and alliance between France and Venice, and they will not gain anything."

He (Badoer) understands that the ambassador from the King of England, the Bailly of Caen, is come to his Majesty to dissuade him from going into Italy at present; and with regard to fortifying Ardres, which has been given to Mons. de Chatillon, he [the King of France?] said nothing further would be done, nor enmity with the King of England arise thence.

Poissi, 24th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 275.

125. GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

The King has despatched Mons. de Montmorency, jun., as his ambassador to England, he having experience of the country and being in favour with the King.

Poissi, 25th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th October.*

[*Italian.*]

1520.
Sept. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 275.

126. Giovanni Badoer, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the Signory.

King Francis had sent Mons. de Montmorency to England to announce to King Henry his departure for Italy, recommending to him the kingdom of France, where he should leave a garrison of 500 (*sic*) men-at-arms, and 50,000 infantry.

Dated 28th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th October.*

In date of the 29th confirms the departure for England of Mons. de Montmorency.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. Senato Mar, v. xix. p. 153.

127. The London Factory.

Motion made for the proveditors of the factories of Damascus, Alexandria, and London to sit in the Senate, as usual, until Michaelmas 1521.

Ayes, 153. Noes, 44. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian, 7 lines.*]

Oct. 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 302.

128. The Venetian Ambassador in France to the Doge and Signory.

Envoys have arrived from England about the renewal of the truce with Scotland, which expires on St. Andrew's Day. Mons. d'Aubigni is going as Regent of Scotland, in lieu of the Duke of Albany, with the consent of the King of England.

Paris, 8th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th October.*

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Oct. 9. Misti Consiglio X. v. xliii. p. 212.

129. The Council of Ten and Junta to the Ambassador in France.

Warn him not to invite King Francis into Italy, as the King of the Romans does not mean to come, on account of the great disturbances in Spain. The coming of the most Christian King can prove to be nothing but a cause of disturbance, by provoking the King of the Romans also to follow him. He will have seen, by the letters to the State from the ambassador [Surian] in England, that King Henry and the Cardinal by no means approve of the coming of the most Christian King into Italy.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 34 lines.*]

Oct. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 354.

130. Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the Signory.

Mons. de Rochepot *alias* Montmorency, ambassador from King Francis, has arrived. He is come because King Henry was displeased about the proposed fortifications at Ardres. The most Christian King has sent to tell him he renounces the project; but lest it be said that he desisted at the suit of the Imperial ambassadors at the French Court, Montmorency was to announce that the works were suspended on account of the winter season.

1520.

He was commissioned, in the second place, to learn the mind of King Henry about the most Christian King's passage into Italy, and, should he go, to recommend his children and his kingdom to King Henry, about which nothing was said by my lord the Bailly [of Caen], the English ambassador in France.

Was informed by the French resident ambassador [Marigny] that Cardinal Wolsey had told him it was not well for King Francis to come into Italy at present, because the Emperor on his part might do the like, whereas he had apparently no intention of doing so. The ambassador replied that King Francis had not been into Italy for many years, and that his presence there was required for a variety of affairs; so Cardinal Wolsey said nothing more to him.

Thirdly, Mons. de Montmorency was the bearer of some portraits (*alcuni desegni*) and presents for the King, the Princess [Mary], and the Cardinal, who is a fish not to be caught save with a golden hook.*

Has also understood that he came to acquaint King Henry with an embassy from France to the Emperor, showing him the instructions, and inquiring whether anything should be added; King Henry having made a similar announcement to King Francis when he sent his ambassador to the Catholic King in Spain.

Mons. de Montmorency was gone to Hampton Court, where Cardinal Wolsey is building a palace. He had been to the King, who was not yet come back to London, where Mons. de Mangna [*sic;* Marigny] had been, and confirmed the account of Dom Philibert's negotiations concerning the Emperor, the Signory, and the Duke of Guelders.

Cardinal Wolsey had been occupied with the Spanish ambassadors, and is also ill of his usual colick attacks. Had, therefore, been unable to obtain audience of him.

Dissatisfaction of the King and Cardinal with his most Christian Majesty. This was caused by the Imperial ambassadors, and by the refusal of King Francis to allow the exportation of grain to England, where there was a scarcity, owing to which the city of London had sent two delegates to King Francis to obtain the "permit." Also, because it was heard that the Duke of Albany had arrived at Lyons from Italy, and was returning to Scotland, having an understanding with the Duke of Suffolk [Richard de la Pole], who resides beyond seas. Moreover, the fortifications of Ardres made the King give ear to the suggestions of the Imperial ambassadors. At this present, however, Mons. de Montmorency has much tranquilized the King and Cardinal, by giving assurance that the works at Ardres shall be suspended and that the Duke of Albany will not cross over to Scotland; and owing to presents received, Cardinal Wolsey is content.

Despatch by the King and Cardinal of the Imperial ambassadors who had returned to London. One of them, Mons. di Rachia [De la Roche], is going back to the Emperor, and the Bishop di Monte [*i.e.* the Bishop of Elna] remains. The reply purports

* "*El qual è un pesse che non pol piarsi si non con l'amo d' oro.*"

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that King Francis will raise no other fortifications at Ardres, and that the Duke of Albany will not go to Scotland. These ambassadors brought Cardinal Wolsey the bulls for the bishopric of Badajos, free of all cost to him. The Cardinal would not accept them, saying he does not choose it to be said that by payment for him of these bulls, and by his acceptance of these presents from the Emperor, his honour is sullied. Understands that no reply was made to these ambassadors concerning the descent of King Francis into Italy; but with regard to the privileges authorizing merchants, the Emperor's subjects, to import goods into England, the King consented to grant them for goods coming (*le cosse che veniva*) from the Emperor's own towns, but not such as were purchased elsewhere and brought to England; so that they have concluded nothing. They had, however, held private conferences with Cardinal Wolsey.

Requests the Signory to elect his successor.

The French ambassador, Mons. de Montmorency, had been despatched with very affectionate letters for King Francis. First of all, that should he go into Italy, King Henry accepts the protection of his children and his realm; and in any need will never fail him with all his might, and even take the field in person. The departure of Mons. de Montmorency took place from Greenwich on the 14th, so that the general belief in England was that they most Christian King would go to Italy.

The Swiss secretary [Michael Sanderus, Dean of Breslau,] who has arrived in London, says the Switzers will declare against France. He is the creature of the Cardinal of Sion, and is come on his business, the King having promised him assistance. The secretary has brought some costly trappings for mules, as a present for Cardinal Wolsey.

The Emperor's resident ambassador [the Bishop of Elna] suspects King Francis will invade Navarre.

Last evening the King and Queen arrived at Westminster. To-day they dine with the Cardinal at Hampton Court, and then go to Greenwich.

The truce between the Kings of England and Scotland expires on St. Andrew's Day. The most Christian King sends an ambassador to Scotland to prolong the truce for five years, or for such additional period as shall seem fit to the King of Scotland.

Dated 18th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 21. **131.** The VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 326. Had been told by the Magnifico Robertet that the King would arrive for the festival of All Saints, and that Mons. de Montmorency, according to his letters, was satisfied with the King of England, because he said he meant to be the good brother of his most Christian Majesty, and against all [his enemies?].

Blois, 21st October. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th November.*

[*Italian.*]

1520.
Oct. 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 368.

132. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey told him of the good offices performed by the King in favour of the Signory, because the Emperor through his ambassador in France, the Provost Philibert, was negotiating a new confederacy with King Francis, to the exclusion of the Signory. On hearing this, King Henry wrote to King Francis that he ought not to treat of such a subject. He also wrote to the Emperor that this was not the way to remain at peace, and the Emperor excused himself by saying that Dom Philibert had received no commission from him to this effect, and that what he said to King Francis was spontaneous. The Cardinal likewise said that King Henry had written to King Francis not to give ear to calumnies against the Signory, who had kept faith by him, adding, "Our King did this by reason of his ancient friendship with the State, and because of the reciprocal confederacy; and he loves the Signory." He then expressed his belief that the Emperor would not come into Italy, and said it would be well to keep the conversation secret.

London, 21st October. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 23.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 368.

133. The SAME to the SAME.

Last evening there arrived from Antwerp the 60 carpets destined as a present for Cardinal Wolsey, to whom he sent his secretary to announce the intelligence. The Cardinal sent back word that he was very glad, and that the carpets were to be brought to him. Today accordingly he went to his lordship, accompanied by the consul, Hironimo da Molin, and they presented the carpets to him in the Signory's name. These were accepted graciously, and the Cardinal inspected them one by one. They were very beautiful, and pleased him much, and he said the present was worthy of a much greater personage than himself; thanking the Signory vastly, making many offers of service, and saying he would not be an ungrateful Cardinal, but stand the Signory's man in anything and everything.*

The envoy from the Cardinal of Sion, who came to get the 3,000 crowns annual pension promised by the King to the Cardinal, had been despatched with no other reply but that the pension was *ad tempus.*

An ambassador had arrived from the Duke of Savoy to acquaint the King with the marriage of his son to the daughter of the King of Portugal.

The King was to be back at Greenwich for All Saints Day.

London, 23rd October. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th November.*

[*Italian.*]

* "Ma homo di la Signoria in tutto e per tutto."

1520.
Nov. 9.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 410.

134. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The King had returned to Greenwich. On the day of All Saints went to pay his respects. The King announced the Emperor's coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, and that neither the Papal Nuncio nor his ambassador * had chosen to attend it, on account of certain disputes about precedence; also that the Emperor's former councillors appointed by Mons. de Chièvres had been dismissed, and Germans elected in their stead; and that he (the King) had good hopes the Emperor would not invade Italy, but that the Imperial diet to be held at Cologne would prove pacific.

His Majesty had lately obtained from King Francis an export permit for grain, of which there was great scarcity in England, and the permit had been proclaimed; King Henry doing this that the English might bear goodwill to France and the Dauphin, King Henry's son-in-law.

London, 9th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 411.

135. The SAME to the SAME.

The ambassador of the Duke of Savoy, in his master's name, inquired of Cardinal Wolsey whether he inclined most towards France or towards the Emperor, proposing to him the formation of a certain league. The Cardinal replied that the Emperor was King Henry's kinsman and his nephew, and King Francis was his brother and ally, and that therefore he could give no answer until he had seen the articles. Savoy renounces the alliance with France, and adheres to the Emperor.

Had been told by the French ambassador that Cardinal Wolsey dissuades King Francis from coming into Italy, saying the cost would be great, and that his coming was unnecessary. It also seems that the Cardinal had written to the Pope to give similar advice to King Francis.

Don Alfonso ———, heretofore the Emperor's governor and captain-general, landed at Hampton, and went to the King with the Imperial ambassadors, saying he had escaped to Portugal, where the King would not receive him, from fear of offending the Spaniards. King Henry in like manner dismissed him, telling him to go to the Emperor. He departed for Calais on the day before yesterday. This affair is supposed to be a Spanish trick (*finzion*), and that he had money levied in Spain, which he was conveying to the Emperor.

In England the government is intent on framing regulations and statutes against aliens, and has issued a proclamation for the presentation at the mint of all Venetian pence,† which would be received and their value given down to a certain period, after which a penalty is to be levied on those who utter them. These regula-

* There were two English ambassadors in Germany at this time—Dr. Tunstall and Sir Thos. Spinelli.

† "*Soldi*," commonly called "galley half-pence," small coins of base silver.

1520.

tions enacted by the King are very detrimental to the French and Flemish merchants, and according to English report the Venetian pence were apparently of base silver.

London, 10th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 413.

136. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The Imperial ambassadors have asked the King for a certain amount of money, offering him security both for this and other sums, which his Majesty lent the Emperor heretofore. Understood from the French ambassador [Marigny] that the King apologized, saying he was unable to accommodate the Emperor; and to another request for troops, he in like manner gave a refusal, saying the Emperor does not need them. Had heard however that the King is raising 9,000 infantry and 2,500 horse, saying he means to send them to Ireland, because the natives there do not render him due obedience. Some suspect they are destined for Scotland; and although King Francis contented King Henry by not sending the Duke of Albany thither, he nevertheless dispatched Mons. d'Aubigni, which may be called the same thing. Thirdly, they requested the mediation of King Henry for the settlement of the disturbances in Spain; to which Cardinal Wolsey made answer that King Henry was at peace with France, and was apprehensive lest by interfering in these matters he might cause suspicion to King Francis, who was of a jealous disposition.

London, 10th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 440-441.

137. The SAME to the SAME.

Had announced the death of Sultan Selim to Cardinal Wolsey, who had heard it by way of Rome, and said the State had two good pieces of news—the death of the Turk, and that the Emperor was not going into Italy; adding there was a report that King Francis would invade Italy and go to Venice. Rejoined he knew nothing of this, when the Cardinal expressed surprise, saying, "Should he go to Venice, I shall have been the cause of it."

Had visited the King and acquainted him with the death of the Turk, and other news. He thanked the Signory, and said the Emperor would not go into Italy this year, but meant to return to Spain, and would leave the government of Germany to the Elector the Duke of Saxony, praising the Emperor greatly and saying he was the friend of the Signory. The Duke having at first refused the office, the King had written to him to accept it. The King also said the Emperor would return to Spain to arrange his affairs there, though they had taken a good turn.

Was moreover told by Cardinal Wolsey that the King of France would do well not to come into Italy.

London, 18th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st December.*

[*Italian.*]

1520.
Nov. 23. **138.** Doge Leonardo Loredano to Cardinal Wolsey.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 375. On the morning of the 20th the College wrote to the Cardinal of York, in England, thanking him for the good service he had rendered to the Signory.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. **139.** The Flanders Galleys.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 376. Summary of the Auction made by the four Sages for the Orders, for the Voyage of the Flanders galleys, bound to Flanders.

Three galleys to be put up for the Flanders voyage.

The masters to receive as a gift 6,000 ducats for each galley.

To remain at Messina four days, at Cadiz, six. The captain and the masters to be at liberty to make the port of Otranto should they think fit.

At Cadiz to take two pilots for each galley; to purchase 10 hides for each galley to cover the hatchways (*porte*); to hoist the barge and cock-boat (*copano*) on board; and to provide men [rowers?] for the benches.

On arriving at Hampton, the galley that fetches the least at the auction to remain there as usual, provided it do not carry the captain; the other two to go to Sluys, and remain there 25 days, on the expiration of which the captain, under heavy penalties, to proceed to Armuyden, and then come on to Hampton or Sandwich, and remain there 60 days, after which the period of demurrage (*la muda*) to expire.

On the homeward voyage they are to remain four days at Cadiz, four at Majorca, twelve at Palermo, and eight at Messina, and are then to come straight to Dalmatia by the usual ports.

All wools, cloths, and tin shipped in England [for Venice] since the departure of the galleys lately arrived under the command of Giovanni Moro, to pay freight to the present galleys, as also similar merchandise conveyed by land. The period to commence at the expiration of one year from the arrival in Venice of the aforesaid galleys commanded by Moro.

To pay the crews in England at the rate of 40*d.* per ducat, making another payment in Flanders at the rate at 60 *grossi* per ducat. Should they remain out more than 10 months, the masters are allowed to make the payment at the rate of 39*d.* per ducat.

Trumpeters to receive four ducats each, and the captain to board them.

Ayes, 47. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

Summary of the auction contract.—The galleys to go to Hampton or Sandwich, as shall seem best to the captain and masters, according to the majority, and not to proceed to Flanders.

Each galley to receive a bonus of 4,000 ducats.

The period of demurrage (*la muda*) in England to be for 90 days, with all the other clauses in the above written auction stipulations.

Ayes, 159.

[*Italian.*]

1520.
Nov. 27.
Deliberazioni Senato Secreta. v. xlviii. p.159.

140. CHAIN pawned to the MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

Motion made in the Senate.

That whereas Andrea Badoer, ambassador in England, received as usual from the King, on his departure, a gold chain, which, for the necessaries of life, he says he was compelled to pledge to the Reverend Vice-Chancellor* of England for 300 ducats; and the said Vice-Chancellor having died, there are no means whereby to recover the said chain. And as Andrea Badoer is therefore prevented from exacting the credit which he has with the Signory on account of his aforesaid embassy, and has served the State with fidelity and diligence:

Put to the ballot,—

That our said nobleman be declared debtor but for 300 ducats on account of the chain as a set off against his credit, and that there be no other impediment to prevent him from obtaining the residue.

Ayes	- 125 ;	117	} Not carried.
Noes	- 63 ;	74	
Neutrals	- 8 ;	0	

[*Italian*, 20 *lines*.]

Nov. 28.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 509.

141. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

Had received the Signory's letters announcing the arrival of the Turkish ambassador to confirm the peace, and the election of Marco Minio as ambassador to Sultan Soliman, with the letter of thanks to Cardinal Wolsey for his good offices in favour of the State. Went to the Cardinal and communicated this news. Cardinal Wolsey said, "This Sultan Soliman is 25 years old, and has good judgment; it is to be feared he will act like his father." Delivered the Signory's letter, for which the Cardinal returned thanks, offering his services, and then said the Pope meant to subsidize the Switzers against Ferrara; that the King of France and the Signory should not suffer this; that it did not please his King, as he had included the Duke of Ferrara in the league with France, and the King had written to the Pope. He thought the King of France would not go to Italy, and that after the conferences which are to take place in the middle of Lent between the Emperor, the Kings of Hungary and Poland, and the Infant, his brother, who has married Maria Anna, the sister of the King of Hungary, the Emperor would return to Spain to allay the disturbances there, leaving the Infant [Don Ferdinand] Imperial Vicar; the Duke of Saxony, to whom the post seemed suited, being content with this arrangement.

The Cardinal then said that the Count Christopher [Frangipane] was coming into the Friuli as governor there of Marano and Gradisca, which heretofore belonged to the Signory, being sent at the request of his brother-in-law, the Cardinal of Gurk.

London, 28th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th January.*

[*Italian*.]

* John Yong, Master of the Rolls, who died 28 April 1516. See Mr. Brewer's Calendar under that date.

1520.
Nov. 28.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 509.

142. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

The King having returned from Eltham, he went to his Majesty and acquainted him with the news. The King said he understood from France that Robert de la Marck had submitted to King Francis on better terms than before. Also, with regard to Mons. d'Aubigny's mission to Scotland, that King Francis had washed his hands of the matter, and left Madame [Louise of Savoy] and Cardinal Wolsey, the arbitrators, to decide.

In England there is great scarcity of grain; what was worth one noble now costs five. They have sent an ambassador or envoy to the most Christian King to obtain a permit to export from France 6,000 Winchester (*Vorne*) bushels. Should it not be conceded the English will be very angry, as they did not receive the whole even of what was promised them previously. The French ambassador [Marigny] is of opinion the permission will not be granted, which may exasperate the English.

Cardinal Wolsey, having asked the French ambassador whether King Francis would go to Italy, received for answer that he was certainly going to Milan, and would subsequently be guided by circumstances.

London, 28th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 457.

143. The SAME to the SAME.

Several couriers had been killed, and the weather was very stormy in the British Channel.

Mons. de la Rogia [Roche] and the Bishop of Helna, the Emperor's ambassadors, delayed their departure on account of the Bishop's illness, but are now gone. The King instructed them to tell the Emperor to maintain the peace with France.

News had been received concerning the marriage of the sister of the King of Hungary, whom he meant to give to the Emperor. She is now to marry the Emperor's brother, the Infant, and next Lent the Kings of Hungary and Poland, and perhaps the Emperor likewise, will hold a conference and conclude this marriage.

Master Carew, the favorite of the King of England, whose mission to France had been suspended, is now gone thither.

The truce between England and Scotland having expired, the ambassadors from Scotland had not yet come to renew it, which seemed strange to the English. The Duke of Norfolk said to the French ambassador it would be a slur on the King of France were the truce not confirmed, and that the Scots were proud and treacherous (*infidelli*).

Had been told by the French ambassador that King Francis would go to Milan and Venice within two months. When Cardinal Wolsey asked the ambassador about this, he answered that the King would go first to Milan, and then perhaps to Venice. Does not know whether by land or by water [down the Po].

London, 3rd December. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th December.*

[*Italian.*]

1520.
Dec. 8.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 440.

144. GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

King Francis told him the Pope was raising Switzers, he did not know why, unless it were to prevent his going into Italy; but he would go in good array. That he would levy 15,000 infantry in Dauphigné, having already 10,000; and the captains of Lansquenets would muster 18,000; so that he and the Signory would doubtless be sufficient to oppose the Emperor, should he choose to march an army into Italy. And that there would also be the subsidy of of troops promised him by the King of England, who in case of need would even come in person.

Blois, 8th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 9.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 531.

145. ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

His secretary had been told by the French ambassador that the Emperor purposed sending ambassadors to France to negotiate an agreement, and that King Henry had written [to King Francis?] not to abandon the Signory. Master Carew, the ambassador to King Francis, was to depart on the morrow; he will have to discuss the affairs of Scotland. The French ambassador told him King Henry would be convinced that Mons. d'Aubigny was not gone to Scotland to make mischief.

London, 9th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 16.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 473.

146. GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Was told by the Admiral [Bonnivet] and by Robertet that King Francis was on very loving terms with the King of England, and that they were expecting Master Carew, one of the greatest intimates of King Henry, with presents for King Francis, in like manner as Mons. Remorantino [*sic*; Montmorency?], one of the chief intimates of the most Christian King, went to England.

Blois, 16th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 20.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 523.

147. MARTIN LUTHER.

Private letter from Andrea Rosso, Secretary of Francesco Cornaro, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

Wherever the Imperial Court had been, Martin Luther was burnt in effigy, with all his works. They will do the like by himself, if he be taken, unless he confess his errors. Letters had lately arrived at Worms, containing many enormities to the reproach of the tenets of the Church. Were Luther merely to inveigh against the morals of the Court of Rome, the authorities would shut their eyes. Luther having heard that in several places his works had been burnt, to prove his power in the territory of the Duke of

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Saxony, has caused books concerning canon law to be burnt also.*

Luther's followers in Germany and elsewhere amount to some 20,000. Even should the Duke of Saxony wish to banish or to punish him, the people would not permit it.

He has an understanding with Erasmus of Rotterdam, and other learned men of these parts. The affair is assuredly a great plague, and the mischief is irremediable.

The Papal Nuncio here, and Domino Aleandro dalla Motta, who was sent hither as commissary by the Pope for this business, do what they can. Aleandro has been warned to take precautions for his personal safety, as he has been threatened from several quarters.

It remains to be seen what provision the future Diet will make.

Worms, 20th December 1520. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 21.

148. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 160.

Motion made in the Senate,—

That Andrea Badoer, late ambassador in England, be declared debtor for 375 ducats and 8 grossi, on account of the chain received from the King, the procurators of St. Mark's, superintendents of the "*Monte Novo*," having made affidavit that the chain given to Sebastian Giustinian lately returned from England, which he presented to the Signory, was sold for 375 ducats and 8 *grossi:* the sum to be deducted from his credit.

Ayes	122	119	Undecided, a majority of four-fifths being requisite.
Noes	59	67	
Neutrals	0	0	

[*Italian,* 19 *lines.*]

Dec. 25.

149. MARTIN LUTHER. (*Note by Sanuto.*)

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 45.

On the "*Campo*" of S. Stefano, a sermon was preached by "*Maestro*" Andrea of Ferrara, who has numerous followers. The "*Campo*" was crowded, and he stood on the balcony of the house inhabited by Pontremolo, the writer in the office of the "Ten Offices."

He abused the Pope and the Court of Rome. He adopts the doctrine of Friar Martin Luther in Germany, a very learned man, who follows Saint Paul, and is much opposed to the Pope, who has therefore excommunicated him.

[*Italian.*]

* In Roscoe's Life of Leo X., it is stated that this display took place at Wittemberg on the 10th December 1520.

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1521.
Jan. 3. **150.** GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 509.

The English ambassador, [Sir Nicholas] Carew, had arrived with the presents. King Henry maintains the best possible understanding with King Francis. The latter desires Scottish ambassadors should go to King Henry, and the business is in the hands of two arbitrators—"Madame" [Louise of Savoy] on behalf of King Francis, and Cardinal Wolsey for the King of England. To effect this, Mons. Polit [*sic; i.e.* Denis Poillot] goes to England, and perhaps to Scotland.

The ambassador Carew, having inquired whether King Francis was going to Lyons for an interview with the Pope, was answered that the King had not been to his state of Milan for a long while, and must revisit it, and would then perhaps confer with the Pope at Bologna; but on arriving at Lyons he would decide.

Blois, 3rd January. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. **151.** ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 559.

Report of a league stipulated at Rome by Mons. de St. Marceau between the Pope, France, and England. On this account, it is supposed, Cardinal Wolsey yesterday celebrated mass, which is unusual, he not having done so for several years, save at Guisnes. The ceremony was stately, the King being present, and the ambassadors from the Pope, France, and Venice by invitation, three seats having been prepared for them. The Imperial ambassador [De Mesa] went, uninvited; he had no place, and remained with the courtiers. According to report the league has been made between the Pope, France, and the Signory. Mons. di Olivel (*sic*) is expected in England in the name of Madame [Louise of Savoy] about the affairs of Scotland, where a conference had been held. In Germany the Diet has not yet commenced; they are awaiting the arrival of the Electors. The disturbances in Spain were apparently quieted, and Don Pedro Giron, the commander of the forces of the community, had submitted to the Emperor, the Bishop of Zamora making his escape to a certain town, and the army of the commons disbanding.

Richard Pace was expected back from the Emperor, to whom he had been sent on a mission by the King.

London, 7th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 18. **152.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 559.

Mons. de Bolivet (*sic*) had arrived, having come about the disputes with Scotland. The Scotch ambassadors were anxiously expected, and Mons. d'Aubigny had used his good offices.

From Germany the King had received the articles which the Emperor means to propose in the Diet.

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Master Carew, besides being the bearer of presents for the Dauphin, went to King Francis to dissuade him from going into Italy.
London, 18th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th February.*
[*Italian.*]

Jan. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 558.

153. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Envoy arrived from the King of England to condole with King Francis on his accident, and to know the state of his health. Also to speak about the affairs of Scotland; for the Duke of Albany, who has experience of them, had in like manner audience of his most Christian Majesty, besides the English ambassador, Carew, who brought some rubies as presents. The French defrayed Carew's expenses, and were preparing some scents and smocks for the Princess [Mary].
Dated 20th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th February.*
[*Italian.*]

Jan. 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 582.

154. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Told by the French ambassador that King Henry will renew the truce with Scotland for six months longer, on condition that within the month of March the Scots shall send ambassadors to him. Should that term expire before their arrival, the truce to be null, and open war declared.
London, 21st January. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th February.*
[*Italian.*]

Jan. 26. Misti Consiglio X. v. xliii. p. 248, tergo.

155. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the AMBASSADOR SURIAN in England.

By letters from Naples, dated the 9th, they are informed that the Spanish infantry in Sicily had crossed over, part into Calabria and part to Naples, in number about 4,000, good troops and in good order. The 1,000 who arrived at Naples had received money, and were to march towards the Tronto. 500 men-at-arms were also being mustered to march towards the Tronto, and the rest of the men-at-arms to keep themselves in readiness. The Pope was to march his troops, and said he should raise 4,000 infantry.
To communicate this intelligence to the King and the Cardinal of York, requesting his right reverend lordship to persevere in his usual good offices, his Sovereign being an excellent medium for doing good, and for removing all incitement to disturbance between the Christian potentates.
Ayes, 25. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.
[*Italian, 32 lines.*]

Jan. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 558.

156. FRANCESCO CORNARO to the SIGNORY.

On the 21st the obsequies of the late Cardinal de Croy commenced. The Emperor sent to invite the ambassadors, of whom those from England [Dr. Cuthbert Tunstall and Sir Thomas Spinelli] did not attend on account of precedence.
After the mass a sermon was preached by a Dominican friar, in praise of the deceased Cardinal, and about the nobility of his family, which was of Hungarian descent. He commended Mons. de Chièvres

1521. vastly for his good management of the Emperor's affairs; exhorting him and the Electors to recover the imperial rights (*cosse*) and towns, and to go into Italy.

He then said that they ought to provide against that Martin Luther; as to correct the Pope was not the business of a private individual, but rather that of the Emperor and the Electors.

In consequence of this the Papal Nuncio, on being made acquainted with the purport of the sermon (for it was preached in the German tongue), complained greatly to the Emperor and Chièvres, saying that this friar ought not to have spoken thus about the Pope, nor yet to have exhorted them to undertake the Italian expedition. The Nuncio subsequently told him (Cornaro) that he should write to the Pope, and that on his desiring the Imperialists to provide against Martin Luther, they answered him that he must bear with the Dominican friar who preached the sermon, because he is a great man. For the last three months the Papal Nuncio has been exerting himself against Martin Luther, but the latter has so many followers, in number 40,000 (*sic*), that the Emperor told the Nuncio not to mention this topic at present.

Worms, 27th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31. **157.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. pp. 543–544.

Motion made in the Senate for the election of an ambassador to England in the stead of Antonio Surian.

To take with him 11 horses and two running footmen. To receive a monthly salary of 140 ducats.

Elected, Nicolò Tiepolo, LL.D.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 31. **158.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 166, tergo.

Motion made in the Senate.

Put to the ballot that an ambassador be elected to the King of England in the place of the nobleman, Antonio Surian, with 120 ducats per month for his expenses, of which he is not bound to show any account. The said ambassador to receive all his moneys from month to month here, in cash out of a bank, at the rate of six livres and four soldi per ducat. To take with him 11 horses, including those of the secretary and his servant, and 13 mouths,* comprising two running footmen.

Ayes	149	Elected, Nicolò Tiepolo, Doctor.
Noes	20	
Neutral	1	

[*Italian*, 20 *lines.*]

Feb. 2. **159.** ALVISE GRADENIGO to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 556.

The Pope returned to Rome on Thursday. Went to the palace and told him that Friar Andrea of Ferrara was no longer at Venice; that he had not printed his propositions, and would not print them or anything else against the Apostolic See.

* "Et boche numero 13, computà do staphieri."

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The Pope thanked the Signory, saying, "This madman means to follow the road of that friar Martin Luther, who finds favour with many."

Gradenigo replied, "Men of this sort make a bad end;" and the Pope said, "It is true."

Rome, 2nd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 573.

160. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

On entering King Francis' presence, found him cured, but paler than usual; condoled with him on the accident, beseeching him to be cautious, most especially in stag hunting, as he incurs so much personal risk. Said that very much prosperity depended on his health. His Majesty returned thanks, and told him how the accident occurred, and that on the fifth day he bled so profusely that it weakened him. The cause was, that in scarifying the surgeons touched a vein. The ambassador then gave the news, which pleased him, and he talked about Sultan Soliman and Syria. Was then informed by the King that Master Carew had come from England with presents, and to assure him that the Emperor would not go to Italy this year, pressing him not to go to Milan, lest he should provoke the Emperor to come, and also to exhort the Scots to send ambassadors to England. King Francis had replied that he would not go into Italy with an army, but should proceed to Milan to visit his territories; and that he would cause ambassadors to be sent to King Henry from Scotland.

The English ambassador is to depart shortly.

Celles [near Château Romorantin], 2nd February. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 582.

161. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

A new ambassador from the King of England had arrived from Rome, and was accompanied by a son of Cardinal Orsini, who remained at Lyons to provide himself with cloths of silk.

Celles, 8th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 8.

162. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Has conversed with Cardinal Wolsey about the coming of the most Christian King into Italy.

Gives account of a ship of 4,000 butts, which King Henry is building, called "The Clarence Saint Mary."

London, — February. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 571.

163. ALVISE GRADENIGO to the SIGNORY.

Was told by the Pope that he had received letters from Germany, dated the 26th or 27th January, and that the Diet was to commence on the morrow. The Pope said nothing more, but Gradenigo under-

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stood that a Dominican friar had preached in Germany against that Martin Luther, blaming him for having caused the bull and the "decretal" to be burnt, as this matter concerned the Emperor; which words the Pope had taken amiss.

Dated the 9th of February. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxix. p. 569.

164. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Nicolò Tiepolo, ambassador elect to England.—Remonstrance made by him in the College concerning the monthly salary assigned him of 120 ducats, at the rate of 124 *grossi* per ducat, whereas the other ambassadors are paid in golden ducats. Insists on being placed on the same footing as the other ambassadors, in accordance with the first motion, which the College therefore determined to re-make in the Senate.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16. Misti Consiglio X. v. xliii. p. 257.

165. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

To thank Cardinal Wolsey for his offices in favour of the State, and to request him to persevere.

Ayes, 25.

[*Italian, 15 lines.*]

Feb. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 16.

166. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Was told yesterday by King Francis that there was nothing to fear from the Emperor, as he had no money, and was debtor to him for three arrears of the tribute for Naples, and the fourth will soon be due, amounting in all to 400,000 crowns. King Francis insists on having his money, or else will make war. He has announced this determination to the King of England by the English ambassador, who had departed; King Henry being bound by the treaty to assist whichever of the two is first subjected to an infringement of its articles. The King means to act on the offensive in many quarters, in Flanders, Spain, and Italy, and has sent to tell the Emperor that unless he pays him his money he will wage a great war upon him.

Celles, 20th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th March.*

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Feb. 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 31.

167. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

King Henry was gone to a place two days' journey from London and the Queen elsewhere, to fulfil a vow; they would remain absent until the Holy Week. Cardinal Wolsey is gone to a third place. The King will return to Greenwich after Easter.

Understood from the French ambassador [Marigny] that King Henry had told him the Emperor would go into Italy, at the instigation of the Cardinals of Gurk and Sion, and that he (King Henry) had no longer so much power to dissuade him, though he lacked money for the expedition; and it seemed strange to him that he should go in opposition to the Pope, to France, to the Signory, and also to the King himself.

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After this spoke to Cardinal Wolsey, who told him the contrary, and that the Emperor would go back to Spain, as he had sent for caulkers to come to the seaside to caulk the fleet for the passage, and detained all the ships and vessels that could be found in the ports.

The French ambassador also said that both the King and the Cardinal were dissatisfied about the affairs of Scotland, and apprehensive of having been deceived, because the ambassadors are not yet arrived; but the French ambassador told them that the Scottish ambassadors would come after Easter.

Tomorrow the Dean of the Chapel Royal [Dr. John Clerk] departs for Rome, where he is appointed ambassador resident.

London, last day of February. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 66.

168. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Intelligence received from Germany. The Diet postponed until the middle of Lent. The Emperor will proceed to Italy. Martin Luther is in great repute in those parts of Germany.

Cardinal Wolsey has received from Rome the confirmation (much desired by him) of his legatine authority for another two years, so that he praises . . . [the Pope?].

London, 1st March. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 31.

169. The SAME to the SAME.

Told by Cardinal Wolsey that the Diet was not ended, and that the Emperor meant to go to Italy, but having the Pope, France, and the Signory against him he could not prosper. Also that the levy of infantry and of Switzers was for the purpose of taking Ferrara for the Pope. Mentioned this to the French ambassador, who told him the Scots would come after Easter, as likewise Mons. d'Aubigni.

In Germany Martin Luther has many followers; this gives the Pope much anxiety.

The ships [in Flanders?] have been dismissed.

Requests the appointment of his successor.

London, 10th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 43.

170. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Conversed at Romorantin with King Francis, who told him he had heard from Germany that in the Diet the Emperor discussed his coming into Italy, for which the Princes promised him assistance. It would therefore be necessary to oppose this expedition, as it would have for object the seizure of territory belonging both to the King and to the Signory. It does not appear the Emperor means to return to Spain; neither does the King of England any longer give assurance of his not coming into Italy, as at first; and this because King Francis refused to send grain to supply the scarcity in England.

Villefranche, 13th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th March.*

[*Italian.*]

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March 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 19.

171. ALVISE GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the SIGNORY.

A work composed by Friar Martin Luther had been brought to Rome; and the Pope held it in great account. The Cardinals Santi Quatro and Ancona had consulted together concerning this matter, about which the Pope is very anxious. Friar Martin has a numerous sect in Germany.

Rome, 15th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 18. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 173.

172. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France.

There are great tumults and sedition in Spain, and the High Constable, not venturing to remain in Burgos, was about to depart for Tordesillas, and join the other troops of his Catholic Highness. The army of the communities was very strong, and increasing daily, and many places had rebelled against the Emperor, whose adherents urged him to go there instantly. It was already reported at the Imperial Court that he would proceed towards Flanders. In confirmation of this, they understand from their ambassador in England that a fleet was being prepared there to convey the Emperor on his return to Spain.

[*Italian.*]

March 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. pp. 40, 41.

173. ALVISE GRADENIGO to the SIGNORY.

On the preceding day consistory was held and process read for the canonization of the blessed Zenone, Bishop of Messina, who, in his lifetime, performed more miracles than Christ. He raised the dead; he walked on the water; he struck the earth with a rod, and wine sprung forth; and on the body of a man born without arms he caused arms to grow. This is true, for the ambassador heard the evidence read. The Pope spoke to him (Gradenigo) about Martin Luther.

Rome, 20th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 36.

174. MARTIN LUTHER.

Note by Sanuto that a brief had arrived from the Pope, granting permission to Master Andrea of Ferrara, of the order of Friars Hermits, to preach, he having been hitherto in concealment at Venice on a charge of abusing the Pope and the Church, and of following the sect of Martin Luther; and so tomorrow morning he will preach.

[*Italian.*]

March 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 36.

175. MARTIN LUTHER.

In the afternoon a sermon was preached at St. Mark's by the preacher who preaches at S. Lorenzo, Friar . . . . . , of the order of Observantine Hermits. The Signory was present with the ambassadors, &c., and he made a fine sermon about peace.

[*Italian.*]

1521.
March 24. **176.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 117.

Understood from the French ambassador [Marigny] that King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey had been informed that King Francis was content the Emperor should go into Italy, provided he did not set foot in the Milanese. This report was circulated by the Spanish ambassador [the Bishop of Badajoz and Helna] and contradicted by the French ambassador, because, as he said, should the Emperor come he must pass through the towns of the Signory, the confederate of the most Christian King, who would never abandon Venice. This the King and Cardinal were pleased to hear. The French ambassador next told them of the agreement made between the Pope and the most Christian King, and of their paying the Switzers destined for Italy conjointly, which was [supposed to be] a proof of their meaning to seize the kingdom of Naples for King Francis and Ferrara for Leo X.; but his King never attempted things of this sort. Concerning Scotland, he said that the ambassadors elected had not chosen to come without an order from the Duke of Albany, the Regent of Scotland, and they wanted him (the ambassador) to proceed there, but the most Christian King does not choose him to do so, in order not to thwart the wishes of King Henry.

Mons. d'Aubigni, who is in Scotland, is to accompany the ambassadors to England for the purpose of subsequently crossing over to France. The French ambassador wrote to Scotland, that in the event of the ambassadors refusing to come, others should be appointed; so he thinks an embassy will come to England after Easter.

"Buda," 24th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 24. **177.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 117.

On Palm Sunday attended mass with the King and Cardinal Wolsey; and afterwards dined with the Cardinal, to whom he communicated the news from Syria. The Cardinal said it was unfortunate for Christendom that Gazelli had been routed by Sultan Soliman*. Returned him thanks for his good offices in keeping the Signory acquainted with passing events. He replied that he does so, has done so, and will do so; and told him what he (Surian) had already heard from the French ambassador. Also about the Spanish infantry, that the Pope wrote to the King complaining of them, whereupon the King wrote to the Emperor, who replied that he kept and keeps them at the Pope's disposal. The Cardinal, therefore does not understand these proceedings of the Pope with regard to bringing Switzers into Italy. He suspects the Pope of meaning to seize Ferrara; and that the Pope and France pay the Switzers, halving the cost. King Henry disapproves of these things, as they indicate discord among the Christian powers. In conclusion, the Cardinal said he would always give notice of such things as appeared to him important to the State,

* Gazeli Bey, Governor of Damascus.

1521.

because his King and he loved the Signory. He then observed that the present Diet of Germany would result like the others;—that they had occupied themselves with private disputes, and not yet spoken about the Emperor's coming into Italy. The Cardinal is of opinion the Emperor will not come, from lack of money. He also spoke about the controversy between the Emperor and the most Christian King, relative to Flanders; and said King Henry had offered his mediation to both parties.

Dated 24th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 117.

178. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Was told by the French ambassador that the Emperor's ambassadors in England have circulated a report that King Francis pays one half of the cost of the Switzers who are coming into Italy for the Pope; and that his most Christian Majesty means to invade the kingdom of Naples; so he (the French ambassador) justified the whole to King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey.

Dated 27th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 30. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 117.

179. The Same to the Same.

The ambassadors of Scotland refuse to come without the consent of the Duke of Albany; so that Aubigni will not pass through England. A secretary from the Emperor* has come to London in haste, for the purpose (it is reported) of announcing that the King of Navarre is going to war with him, that the Switzers are going into Italy, and that in Flanders Robert de la Mark is threatening him with hostilities.

Dated 30th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 49.

180. Martin Luther.

The Bishop of Pola, the Papal Legate (*Legato*), caused a brief and bull from the Pope to be read in the College,—that under pain of excommunication no one was to keep the works of Martin Luther. The College assented to have it published today by the preachers, and read at the sermon in St. Mark's Church.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 49.

181. Martin Luther.

After mass, the College sat to read the bull concerning Friar Martin Luther. It is in print, dated Rome . . . . . .† To be published in the churches, but not at St. Mark's.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 50.

182. Martin Luther.

Today in the churches the Pope's bull concerning Martin Luther

* Qu. Anthony, usher of the Emperor's chamber. He seems to have been sent to and fro between Charles V. and the Bishop of Elna, in March and April 1521. See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. III., No. 1226. No. 1211, in which the mission of De la Roche and Haneton to England is mentioned, seems to belong to the year 1520 rather than 1521.

† 1520, 17 Kalend. July? See Roscoe's Life of Leo X.

1521.

was published, charging those who possess his books and works to burn them, under pain of excommunication.

[*Italian.*]

April 1. **183.** MARTIN LUTHER.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 52.

On this morning, in the churches where sermons are preached, the preachers, by order of the Legate (*Legato*) with the Signory's permission, published the excommunication of such as read, or keep in their houses, &c. the works and books of Friar Martin Luther, of the order of Hermits, according to the bull issued at Rome.

[*Italian.*]

April 1. **184.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 117.

Had been to King Henry, who was returned from the place whither he went from fear of the plague.

Acquainted him with the summaries of the news from Syria, to which he listened attentively, expressing regret for the defeat of Gazelli, as Sultan Soliman would next attack Christendom. He then said there was no fear of the Emperor's coming into Italy this year, because he had no money; and swore that as earnestly as he prayed God to cure the Princess, so did he desire peace between his confederates, mentioning amongst them the Signory. He was exerting himself to induce all to be content with their own possessions, and whoever might give occasion of war would displease him greatly. He said he had written to the Emperor to preserve the peace of Christendom; and came to the conclusion that the Emperor could not go to Italy from lack of money.

The King then recommended to the Signory a nephew of his, the Lord Reginald [Pole],* who is going to study at Padua.

In Scotland, the Archbishop of [St. Andrew's] (the first dignity there), who was Legate, has died. Many applications were made to the King of France for the vacant see, which is in his gift, as he rules Scotland.

Yesterday the four French hostages arrived in London; and their predecessors return home.

Beseeches the Senate to appoint his successor.

Dated 1st April. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 6. **185.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 131.

The French secretary had been sent for by Cardinal Wolsey, who complained that the most Christian King had violated the articles of his agreement with the Emperor, by causing Robert de la Marck and the Duke of Guelders to make war on the Emperor with French assistance and favour, and that the King of Navarre likewise meant to attack the Emperor; which proceedings greatly displeased King Henry, as he wishes for peace between all the powers. The secretary justified the French King, saying that the Duke of Guelders was not his subject, and that the Emperor made these charges in order to furnish himself with an excuse for not paying King Francis the 200,000

* "Un suo nepote Domino Renaldo."

1521.

crowns. Mons. Poliot,* who has arrived lately, also laboured to convince the Cardinal, and at length appeased him; Poliot had come on his way to Scotland. The above complaint was made by the Imperial secretary in London, who had been lately sent from Flanders by Madame Margaret.

Mons. de Planis had arrived from Scotland, whither he had been sent by the most Christian King, and now he returns to France. The Scottish ambassadors are not coming to England, but the French ambassador here [Marigny] has exerted himself to have the truce with Scotland prolonged for two or three years more, on the plea that in the meanwhile some means of agreement will be found. The Imperialists in London have circulated two new bubbles (*levate*); one, that Robert de la Marck has been routed by 700 of the Frenchmen in Flanders who have taken service under Madame Margaret; the other, that the negotiation has been renewed for the marriage of the daughter of the King of Portugal to the Emperor.

London, 6th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 10. **186.** ALVISE GRADENIGO to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 91.

The Pope had received letters announcing the Emperor's return to Flanders for an interview with the King of England.

Rome, 10th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 15. **187.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 150.

Cardinal Wolsey has been ill of fever, so that he gave audience to no one but King Henry, who visited him one day, and remained with him a long while.

The French ambassador from Scotland, Mons. de Planis, has arrived, on his way to France, and the Scottish ambassadors have not come; and Mons. d'Aubigni has remained in Scotland. De Planis brings back word that they are willing to prolong the truce for another year without any farther embassy, and in the meanwhile a peace is to be negotiated. King Francis had written to King Henry to this effect, urging him to prolong the truce. Already on the borders some forays have been made.

Yesterday the French ambassador received a post from France, with letters for the King and Cardinal, whereby the most Christian King exculpates himself from the charge made by the Emperor about Robert de la Mark, &c.; and with regard to his having granted passage to the Switzers for their march into Italy to serve the Pope, he says it was for the security of his Holiness. The ambassador had as yet been unable to deliver the letters either to the King or the Cardinal.

On that day (15th April) the King caused the imprisonment of the Duke of Buckingham in the Tower under custody. He is one of the chief personages in England. The reason is not known, though it is understood that for the last 500 years not one of his ancestors has died in bed; and his father was beheaded.

* Denis Poillot.

1521.

The ambassador urges the dispatch of his successor.
London, 15th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th May.*
[*Italian.*]

April 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 130.

188. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

This morning King Francis heard mass in the church of an abbey where he (Badoer) lodges, and told him he had something to say to him. Went afterwards to the palace, when he was informed by the King that the Emperor's ambassador had again spoken to him, explaining he did not imply that the Emperor wished for war, but that it should be ascertained juridically whether the clauses had been violated, and requesting King Francis to send Robertet to the borders, there to meet some other person who would be appointed by the Emperor. The King replied that the ambassador had told him the Emperor considers himself at war, so that farther discussion was useless. The ambassador rejoined that he had not spoken in that form; and Mons. de Melanon (*sic*)* having requested him (the King) to refer the matter for arbitration to Madame [Louise of Savoy], he consented, and the ambassador is gone to her, together with Artoes.†

The King said he had cleared himself with the King of England, and written to the Electors of the Empire and to the Pope, who, according to letters received by him from Rome, will enter the league, and his Majesty has sent the power of attorney for its conclusion.

Dijon, 18th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th May.*
[*Italian.*]

April 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 150.

189. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The French ambassadors‡ went to Cardinal Wolsey and told him what King Francis had written. They also had audience of the King, who, at the persuasion of France, consents to prolong the Scotch truce for a year. The Cardinal complained of the present movements, saying it was not for the interest of King Francis to wage war on the Emperor now that he is holding the Diet in Germany, and desired them to write to their King that it would be for his advantage to adjust matters with the Emperor. The Cardinal offered his mediation; but the French ambassador says he does not believe King Francis will place himself in the hands of King Henry, or of Wolsey, as he distrusts them.

The Duke of Buckingham is still in custody in the Tower; his trial is procrastinated in order to effect other arrests. The Duke was plotting to obtain the crown on the death of the present King.§ His chancellor [Robert Gilbert] has been arrested, and the brother

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* Qu. Adrian de Meleun, who had been one of the French hostages in England.
† Qu. La Artege, a French captain.
‡ Marigny, Poillot, and (probably) De Planis.
§ "Farse re por" (*sic.* poi?) "la morte di questo Re." "*Por*" is not Italian. If the word was "*per*" it would mean "*by* the death, &c.," and not "*on*" or "*after*."

1521. of the Earl of Chectria (*sic.* Westmoreland?);* so it is supposed the Duke will be beheaded.

Will communicate to the King and Cardinal the summaries transmitted by the State of news from Syria and Constantinople.

Dated 19th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 130.

190. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

The expedition against Navarre will be made, but the French await the reply from England.

Dated 19th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 140.

191. FRANCESCO CORNARO to the SIGNORY.

On a summons from the Emperor, Friar Martin Luther arrived at the Court on the 16th, with a herald and a safeconduct, and on the morrow of his arrival entered the presence of the Emperor, with whom were the Electors and Princes.

The Emperor inquired whether the books printed in his name were his, and whether he would withdraw them and recant, as they were condemned by the Pope as being replete with heresy. Luther replied the books were his, and requested time for reply, which was conceded with great difficulty until yesterday, when he reappeared before the Court. After delivering a long discourse, urging the Emperor and their Lordships not to molest him, he endeavoured to convince them that what he had written was perfectly true, and said he would persist in this proposition, unless the contrary were shown on the authority of holy writ, demanding a disputation to that effect. This was denied him, because all the articles had been already condemned by the Church and Councils; and therefore he was ordered to declare what he meant to do. He then reasserted his opinion, declaring that it could be demonstrated by true arguments that unjust decrees had been made in the said Councils.

On that day, the 19th, the Emperor and the Electors and Princes dismissed Luther, and caused a writing in the Emperor's hand to be read to him, purporting that as the Emperors and Princes, his predecessors, had always done their utmost not only to preserve the Catholic faith, but to augment it, and had ever been obedient to the Apostolic See, his Majesty intended to do the like; and therefore his firm intention was that all the books of Martin, wheresoever found, should be burnt, and he himself punished as a notorious heretic, and likewise those who favoured him in any way. To effect this, the Emperor requested all the Electors and Princes to unite with him, as they had apparently promised when they determined to send for Luther to the Court.

Worms, 19th April 1521. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th May.*

[*Italian.*]

* Brother for brother-in-law. Catharine Stafford was married to the Earl of Westmoreland and her sister Mary to Lord Abergavenny, who was imprisoned at the same time as the Duke of Buckingham; but, according to Burke, the husband of Catharine Stafford did not become Earl of Westmoreland until 1523.

1521.
April 19.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. pp. 144, 145.

192. READING in the SENATE of the EMPEROR'S PROTEST to the ELECTORS against MARTIN LUTHER.*

We are determined to protect the Church like our predecessors, and to maintain what was ordained by the Council of Constance and all other councils, whereby it is certain one solitary friar errs in his opinion, which is contrary to that of all Christendom. I have, therefore, resolved utterly to hazard (*exponer*) my realms and signories, my body, blood, life, and soul. Having heard the obstinate reply which Luther gave yesterday in the presence of you all, I declare that I repent me of having so long delayed prosecuting him and his false doctrine; and my determination is to proceed against him as against a public heretic.

Written with my own hand this day, 19th of April 1521.

(Signed) CAROLUS.

Registered by Sanuto, 11th May.

[*Italian.*]

April 19.
Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlviii. p. 183, tergo.

193. CHAIN pawned to the MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

Motion made in the Senate.

Whereas the nobleman Andrea Badoer, late ambassador in England, was compelled to borrow from the reverend Vice-Chancellor 300 ducats, with whom as security he deposited the gold chain given him by the King; and whereas the said Vice-Chancellor died, and by the law (*ordeni*) of England his goods lapsed to the royal treasury, as customary with other ecclesiastical property; and whereas it is impossible to obtain the chain, and present it to the procurators of St. Mark, according to the letter of the Venetian law; and whereas Andrea Badoer is not responsible for more than he received for the chain; and whereas he is content, as the chain of his successor Sebastian Giustinian was sold for 370 ducats, to pay to the procurators the sum of 370 ducats:—

Put to the ballot,—that on "Ser" Andrea paying to the procurators the 370 ducats for the value of the said chain, that item be balanced and settled (*sia conzà et saldà la partida*), as fair and just.

Ayes, 114–118. Noes, 44–44. Neutrals, 0–1.

[*Italian, 21 lines.*]

April 21.
Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 9.

194. EMBASSY IN ENGLAND.

Put to the ballot that the motion relative to the chain given by the King of England to Andrea Badoer be lost.

Ayes, 63–57.

Put to the ballot that the motion be carried.

Ayes, 98–103.
„ 0.
„ 1–2.

Nothing carried, the majority required being three-fourths.

* This document has been printed at length in the Lettere di Principi, vol. i. p. 92, and in Roscoe's Life of Leo X. A copy of this protest, in French, exists in the Public Record Office.

1521.
April 23.
Sanuto Diaries, v.xxx. p. 178.

195. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Had conversed with Cardinal Wolsey, to whom he communicated the Levant news. The Cardinal told him the Diet was well nigh ended, and that the King of France was waging war on the Emperor, through Robert de la Mark, the Duke of Guelders, and the King of Navarre; that this displeases King Henry, because he wishes for peace between the Christian powers; and that should King Francis persist, he (King Henry) cannot do less than assist the Emperor. He would fain be the person to adjust these differences, and had dissuaded both the Emperor and the most Christian King from entering Italy. The Emperor would return to Flanders, and perhaps to Spain, to arrange affairs there; and, in short, King Henry would not care to maintain his alliance with France. Communicated all this to the French ambassador in London, who told Cardinal Wolsey that the most Christian King does not choose [to have] judges; yet he exculpates himself with regard to Robert de la Mark and the Duke of Guelders, declaring it is not his business to prevent them from giving trouble; though, on the other hand, he is bound to defend the King of Navarre according to the articles of the agreement made at Noyon. No prolongation of the truce has yet arrived from Scotland.

Details his conversations with Cardinal Wolsey relative to Martin Luther. Papal briefs have arrived in London ordering the works of Luther to be burnt, and the King will make provision accordingly, so that none of them shall be found on this island. The King is writing a work against Luther, and will publish it and send it to the princes of Christendom, including our Signory. It will be meritorious for a king to have written a book in favour of the Christian faith, and much to the praise of his Majesty.*

Requests that his successor may be dispatched, he having already been 30 months at the English Court.

London, 23rd April. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 25.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter No. 3. St. Mark's Library.

196. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Arrived at Worms on Saturday the 20th of April, but the Emperor being occupied by business concerning the affair of Friar Martin Luther,† which during the whole of the last few days has occupied him and the electors, his (Contarini's) audience was delayed until St. Mark's Day, when the Vice-Chancellor and the marshal of the household, with the Imperial counsellors, conducted him to the palace.

In a hall, seated on a chair of state covered with gold brocade and surmounted by a canopy of the same material, sat the Emperor. On one side of him were seated all the Electors of the empire, with the exception of the Duke of Saxony; on the other, the Cardinals of Sion and Gurk.

* This extract serves to date Letter No. lxxxi., Ellis, series 2, vol. 1. pp. 286–288.

† Luther entered Worms on Tuesday the 16th of April 1521, and departed thence on Friday the 26th (see Roscoe's Life of Leo X., vol. iv, p. 40; edition, Liverpool, 1805).

1521.

Before the Emperor stood Mons. de Chièvres, the Chancellor, [Gattinara], and many other princes, both German, Flemish, and Spanish.

When the ambassadors entered the Emperor rose, and when they were in the act of kissing his hand, he doffed his bonnet.

When he (Contarini) delivered his credentials, the Emperor caused a bench covered with red velvet to be brought, and desired the ambassadors to cover and be seated. This they declined, and when the Emperor again urged the acceptance of this compliment, requested to be allowed to address the Emperor in a standing posture. The permission was granted; but his Majesty chose the ambassadors to remain covered.

His speech was answered by the Chancellor,* and when the ambassadors took leave the Emperor embraced them with marks of great love and goodwill.

Worms, 25th April 1521.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

April 25. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 145.

197. GASPARO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor Charles V., to NICOLO TIEPOLO, LL.D., and his companions.

I have neither spoken to nor seen Friar Martin Luther, although he remained in this town until yesterday morning. I was constrained to act thus, for he has very active enemies and very powerful partisans, and the affair is conducted with incredible acrimony. I have heard from many that amongst other follies he believes that any layman in the state of grace is competent to administer the Sacrament of the Eucharist,† that marriage may be dissolved, that fornication is not sin, and that all things chance from necessity,‡ though this I heard solely from the Cardinal of Sion [Matthew Scheiner]. Besides these errors, I understand that he is most imprudent, very unchaste, and ignorant of the doctrines [of Christianity].

During the last few days he was urged by the Princes here, and in the Emperor's name, to retract, but he nevertheless persisted in his obstinacy, and so today (*sic*) his Majesty made a declaration in his own hand against him, the copy of which is sent to the Signory.

I cannot tell you how much favour he enjoys here, and which is of such a nature that on the Emperor's departure and the dissolution of the Diet I suspect it will produce some bad effect, most especially against the prelates of Germany.

In truth, had this man been prudent, had he restricted himself to his first propositions, and not entangled himself in manifest errors about the faith, he would have been, I do not say favoured, but

* This chancellor was Mercurino Arboreo, a native of Gattinara in Piedmont. On the death of Mons. de Chievres he became the Emperor's prime minister, and to him may be mainly attributed the expulsion of the French from the Milanese.

† "Quod a quolibet layco existente in gratia sacramentum heucarestiæ confici queat."

‡ "Et quod omnia eveniunt de necessitate."

April 25. Sessio Decima, v. xxx. p. 112.

1571. GASPARO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor Charles V., to NICOLO TIEPOLO, LL.D., and his companions.

I have neither spoken to nor seen Frier Martin Luther, although he remained in this town until yesterday morning. I was constrained to act thus, for he has very active enemies and very powerful partisans, and the affair is conducted with incredible avirunony. I have heard from many that amongst other follies he believes that any layman in the state of grace is competent to administer the Sacrament of the Eucharist; that marriage may be dissolved, that fornication is not sin, and that all things ebuse from necessity; though this I heard solely from the Cardinal of Sion [Matthew Schiner]. Besides these errors, I understand that he is most imprudent, very mendacious, and ignorant of the doctrines [of Christianity].

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* This chancellor was Mercurino Arborio, a native of Gattinara in Piedmont. On the death of Mota, de Cabrera in favour the Emperor's grand monarch, and to him may be mainly attributed the expulsion of the French from the Milanese.

† "Quod a quolibet layco existente in gratia sacramentum Eucharistie confici possit."

‡ "Et quod omnia excusant de necessitate."

1521. adored, by the whole of Germany. I was told so at Augsburg by the Duke of Bavaria and many others, and I see the same by experience.

Exhorts Nicolò Tiepolo to go to his legation in England, as the career of a diplomatist is very distinguished and most honorable, extremely like that of a student, save that it is grander. There were many learned men, Greek and Latin scholars, and philosophers at Worms, though he had not yet made acquaintance with them.

Martin Luther departed yesterday morning (*sic*) on a waggon (*sopra una careta*), accompanied by 20 horsemen.*

Worms, 25th April 1521. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 25. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 149.

198. Giovanni Badoer to the Signory.

Was told by the Chancellor [Duprat] that they were expecting letters from England about attacking the Emperor.

According to report, Robert de la Mark had made a stir on the borders of Flanders.

The ambassadors were at Dijon, including even the Imperialist, who had not departed.

King Francis has received letters from the Pope [informing him] that his Nuncio had obtained mandates to burn the works of Friar Martin Luther throughout the kingdom [of Naples], and that they were not to be either printed or sold there.

Dijon, 25th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. pp. 141–144.

199. Gasparo Contarini to his brother-in-law Matteo Dandolo, LL.D. and Knight.

Had held a conversation with the Duke of Cariati about Martin Luther. Four days ago Luther arrived at Worms on the Emperor's summons, with a guarantee that he should receive no harm, and go away when and whithersoever he pleased.

The day before he (Contarini) entered Worms, Luther was asked, in the presence of the Emperor and the Electors, whether the works which circulated in his name were issued by him. He replied that he should wish to know what works were attributed to him, as some might not be his. An index of their titles being then read to him, he admitted to their authorship. He was then asked whether he affirmed the truth of their contents. To this question he declined to reply without time for consideration. The Emperor objected to this demand, because Luther did not deserve its grant, and because he had known for a long while why he was summoned; but, as a favour, the matter was deferred until the morrow, and he was desired to return at the same hour.

Luther then departed, and when he came back at the appointed hour he spoke at great length before the Emperor, in German, against the Pope and the Court of Rome. He also maintained that the Council of Constance, which condemned John Hus, erred wickedly by passing sentence against him, and that he (Luther)

* According to Roscoe, Luther quitted Worms on the 26th of April.

1521.

would persevere in that opinion until confuted by argument or authority derived from holy writ. The Emperor then dismissed him, and very early on the following morning sent [to the Diet?] a certain rescript in his own handwriting, stating that he was descended from Catholic Kings and most Christian Emperors, and therefore would not degenerate from his forefathers; that with all his might he would oppose the heresies of Luther, and inflict punishment on all his adherents; and that for this purpose he (the Emperor) would hazard both his realms and his life.

This rescript being presented to the Electors, they requested time to consult and decide on the matter, and went back to the Emperor several times, assenting apparently to the decree, but raising many objections; and as yet nothing is settled. The Emperor, however, seems to be firmly opposed to Luther, and not without reason, for Luther has reached such a pitch of madness and fury that he rejects the decrees of the Councils; says that any layman can administer (*confici posse*) the sacrament of the Eucharist; that matrimony can be dissolved; that simple fornication (*fornicationem simplicem*) is no sin, and hints at that community of women of which Plato treats in his Republic.

During the night of the day on which the Emperor dismissed Luther, a writing was placarded on the doors of the Cathedral, whereby 400 nobles and persons innumerable of inferior grade threatened the opponents of Luther and defied them to battle, making especial mention of the Bishop of Mayence, whom they vituperated grossly.

Had Luther conducted himself at Worms with greater moderation and prudence, and not meddled so erroneously with sacred matters, but abided by his original proposition, he would have had all Germany on his side, such is the bias towards his ravings of many of the Germans.

Has great apprehensions, because, as Luther said of himself, he is a man who will not relinquish his opinion, either through argument, fear, or intreaty. On the departure of the Emperor, and when the Diet is dissolved, Luther will raise great disturbances throughout Germany, much to the cost of the German bishops and all the clergy there, and indeed with danger to the Christian religion. He has many powerful partisans, who encourage him, and against whom no one dares to .....

Luther's books are sold publicly in Worms, although the Pope and the Emperor, who is on the spot, have prohibited them. Within their own dwellings many of the chief Princes [of Germany?] encourage Luther. Does not know how the affair will end, but dreads the result. Has neither spoken to the man, nor even seen him, at which he (Dandolo) will perhaps marvel; but the question is treated so acrimoniously that the nature of the times requires this reserve. Luther disappointed the expectations of almost everybody at Worms, for he exhibits neither moral purity nor any prudence. Of scholarship he is devoid, and in short excels solely in imprudence.

Worms, 26th April 1521. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th May.*

[*Latin.*]

1521.
April 27.
Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 11, tergo.

200. ENGLISH WOOLS.

Decree of the Senate that from this time forth, till March 1522, Frankish wools (*lane francesche*) may be brought to Venice either by Venetian subjects or by aliens, and in both Venetian and foreign bottoms, with this condition, that those conveyed by land exported from the staple of Calais do pay one quarter of freight; those brought from England by sea by way of Leghorn, to pay one-third of freight; others coming by way of Ragusa or from the places of the Gulf to pay three quarters of the freights to the Signory's Flanders galleys, to which they by right belong.

Ayes, 89.

[*Italian*, 10 *lines*.]

April 27.
Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 12.

201. ENGLISH WOOLS.

Put to the ballot in the Senate, that from the 1st of next June till the end of November following wools be brought to Venice solely by land from the staple of Calais, and from no other place, on payment of one-fourth of the freights to the Signory's trading galleys, to which they ought to belong, as decreed heretofore.

Ayes, 60. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*, 22 *lines*.]

April 28.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 4, St. Mark's Library.

202. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

With regard to Friar Martin Luther, the Electors and Princes, by consent of all the members of the Diet, have answered the demand made of them in the Emperor's protest* thus,—that as the matter was momentous they besought him to allow them to treat with Luther apart, and obtain from him the recantation required by his Majesty, namely, of such points as directly impugned the decrees of the Council of Constance and others, leaving in suspense Luther's imputations against the Papal authority. It is supposed that this was done designedly, in order to restrain the Pope, and make him agree to the Emperor's wishes.†

The Diet also requested his Majesty to send a commissary of his own to attend the conference with its own delegates, but the Emperor would only consent to the Diet's acting *ex se*, and granted but three days' time, which having expired without any result, his Majesty sent a doctor of laws and one of his secretaries to Friar Martin, with a peremptory and final intimation to the effect that unless he retracted all the assertions before mentioned, he must depart on the following morning; twenty days' time being conceded him to quit Germany, in accordance with the safeconduct granted by his Majesty, who, on the expiration of that period, is determined to seize and punish him, as his errors deserve.

* This document is entered in Sanuto's Diaries. See 19th April 1521.

† At the commencement of 1521 Leo X. was closely allied with France, and therefore the Imperial Cabinet made use of Luther to keep the Pope in awe. Subsequently, in date February 6th, 1525, we are told (also by Gasparo Contarini) that Charles V., when expressing his indignation at the ungrateful and treacherous manner in which he had been abandoned by Clement VII., hinted at the possibility of taking his revenge by declaring Martin Luther "*an honest man*."

1521.

To this the Friar replied that he would make no recantation whatever, and on the contrary demanded that his arguments should be refuted by holy writ. He then departed.

It is not known where he will reside, though we are assured the Princes of the Empire have promised his Majesty that they will always be ready to take any steps he may choose for the punishment of this friar, which may God grant, by reason of his numerous followers and the great favour enjoyed by him in these parts of Germany.

Worms, 28th April 1521.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

May 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 126.

203. ALVISE GRADENIGO to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor had given a rebuff to Friar Martin Luther, and prevented his departure thence [from Worms?].

Dom. Rafael de' Medici arrived at Rome last evening; is lodged in the house of a banker, by name Bagolin; and is going to the Pope at La Magnana. Will endeavour to investigate the news brought by him. This evening the Pope has commanded a musical comedy to be performed.*

Rome, 1st May. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th May.*

[*Italian*.]

May 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 202.

204. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Was unable to communicate to Cardinal Wolsey the summaries of news contained in the Signory's letters of 26th March and 2nd and 3rd April; but showed them to King Henry, who said the Emperor had sent an envoy extraordinary to him, to complain of the most Christian King, and wished to refer the disputes to the arbitration of himself (King Henry). For this purpose, his Majesty has sent Sir Richard Pace† [*sic*, for Jerningham] as his ambassador to France, and also Sir Corado [*sic*, for Sir Richard Wyngfeld] to the Emperor, to ascertain whether an agreement can be negotiated between these sovereigns. The resident French ambassador will depart for France; Mons. Piloto [Poillot], who came on behalf of "Madame" [Louise], to adjust the affairs of Scotland, remains in his stead.

The King has dismissed the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,‡ and appointed another in his stead, because he was the son-in-law of the Duke of Buckingham, and he is supposed to have been accused; and [Sir George Nevill Lord Bergavenny?] his [the Duke's?] son-in-law has already been arrested, as likewise two of his nephews, the brothers of the one [Reginald Pole] who is studying at Padua. According to report, they plotted with the Duke of Buckingham

* "*Questa sera il Papa fa far una comedia con musiche.*"

† "*Domino Ricardo Panzeo*" in the original.

‡ The Earl of Surrey did not resign this office until near the end of the year 1521. Sir John Peachey was despatched to Ireland about this time with instructions for the Earl; and that circumstance may possibly have occasioned the rumour mentioned in the text.

1521.

against the Crown, and when he (Surian) told the King what the Signory had done for his kinsman, the Paduan student, out of love for his Majesty, he said the State must not make so much of him, lest he prove disloyal like the others.*

London, 1st May. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 176.

205. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

The Pope would not join the triple league because the Emperor is not going into Italy. The Chancellor [Duprat], in discussing with him (Badoer) the disputes between King Francis and the Emperor, said that a reply was awaited from England, that King Henry will send an envoy to undertake the arbitration of these differences, and that the Emperor is content to place himself in the hands of the King of England.

Musi (*sic*),† 6th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 203.

206. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The ambassador destined for the Emperor has departed, and the one accredited to France will leave immediately. In Picardy the French have apparently been worsted by the Emperor's forces; and some Frenchmen have been arrested.

Two sentences have been passed on the Duke of Buckingham, condemning him to have his head cut off, for high treason; and the merchants are of opinion he will receive the third, namely capital punishment, at Westminster as usual.

The intelligence communicated by him to the King and others concerning Sultan Soliman is not credited, because the Prior of St. John's [Docwra] says he has letters from Rhodes containing quite the contrary; and there are also recent letters from Rome which say nothing of these Turkish advices.

London, 8th May *Registered by Sanuto, 1st June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 177.

207. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

The French King has intercepted letters from the Emperor to the ——— in Navarre, in reply to his inquiry whether he should destroy the ferry of St. Jean de Port. The Emperor gives orders in the affirmative.

Was told by the King that in three days he should have a reply from England, and would then be able to make war. He has already raised 10,000 lansquenets and 6,000 Switzers, and intends to have 40 pieces of artillery. He said he was not afraid of what the King of England may write to him.

Mausi (*sic*), 9th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th May.*

[*Italian.*]

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* "*Disse non bisogna far tante cosse azio non si lievi come li altri.*"

† Qu. Mussi l'Evêque? A letter from Sir William Fitz William, the English ambassador in France, of the 7th May 1521, is dated at "Mychean Levake."

1521.
May 11.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 217.

208. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

The two ambassadors, the one to the Emperor, the other to the most Christian King, have both quitted London. They are sent to notify the Duke of Buckingham's conspiracy (*trattato*). According to certain statutes of the realm, on account of Brabant and Flanders, the Emperor must be made acquainted with the particulars; and so also the King of France, by reason of his vicinity. The Duke aspired to the Crown, and these two ambassadors would not have been sent, save for this cause. Friar Martin Luther is to be proclaimed an heretic, and his works burnt. He has already been sentenced; and on Sunday Cardinal Wolsey will publish his condemnation by the Councils (*Concilj;* Universities?) of Cambridge and Oxford,* as a heretic; and that all his books be burnt under penalty of excommunication, according to the brief received from the Pope.

Has been told by the French ambassador [Marigny] that the marriage of the Emperor's sister to the King of Hungary will not take place, and that the most Christian King is negotiating a marriage between him and his (King Francis') sister-in-law, Maria Zenevre [*sic*, Madame Rénée], or with a daughter of the King of Navarre.

London, 11th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 12.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 7, St. Mark's Library.

209. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Departure for Venice on the 10th of his colleague, Francesco Cornaro, who was accompanied a certain distance out of Worms by the English ambassador [Sir Thomas Spinelli] and by a number of the Court.

Last evening at about 6 p.m. the Cardinal of Mayence sent for the Apostolic Nuncio [Marino Caracciolo], and told him that on the day of the Invention of the Cross [the 3rd of May] Friar Martin Luther had been captured by one Hector, a Bohemian, the enemy of the Duke of Saxony, who had followed Luther to Worms, and on the road after his departure.

The mode of capture is narrated as follows:—Luther on the day of the Invention of the Cross, having preached at a village in the province of Saxony, dismissed the herald who had accompanied him; and in the afternoon, having got into a waggon with one or two persons, for the purpose of visiting some of his relations in that neighbourhood, he was attacked *in itinere* by this Hector, the Bohemian, who made Luther change his apparel, and carried him off, whither it is not known.

The Dean of Mayence has written this same account to the Nuncio. This morning the intelligence was in general circulation, though it is not credited by the Nuncio and persons of judgment, who consider it a feint, artfully devised by Luther, to enable him to go more freely into Denmark, or elsewhere, as shall seem fit to him.

* "Per li Concilj Catturberiense et Oximmiense."

1521.

It is reported from England that the King had ordered the arrest of the Duke of Buckingham, the chief personage in that kingdom, together with two other Knights of the Garter. The real cause is not known, but according to report the Duke had plotted to assassinate Cardinal Wolsey. This the English ambassador denies, though he does not know the reason, affirming merely the fact of the arrest, and that the King had surrendered the Duke for trial by the peers of the realm.

Mons. de Chievres has constant fever and is dangerously ill; they bled him and shaved his head, and he was considered in great danger; but he rallied last night, though not sufficiently to banish all fear as to the result.

Worms, 12th May 1521.

[*Italian*, 4½ *pages*.]

May 13. **210.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 218.

On this Sunday morning (*sic*)* the condemnation of Friar Martin Luther as an heretic was proclaimed.

King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey,† with the ambassadors and others, went to the Royal Palace at St. Paul's; the ambassadors were the Pope's, the Emperor's, and himself (Surian). The French ambassador was not present on account of disputes about precedence.

Cardinal Wolsey, with many bishops in canonicals and the ambassadors, all on horseback, proceeded to the door of St. Paul's Church with a great multitude of people. On dismounting the canopy was brought to the Cardinal with the cross and censer, not as usual for a mere Legate, but as if the Pope in person had arrived.

On reaching the high altar, the Cardinal kissed the cross, and the ambassadors having seated themselves on a stage placed for them, the Archbishop of Canterbury made a laudatory oration, praising the Cardinal vastly. Then the Bishop of Rochester made a speech, in which he commended the Cardinal for what he had done against Friar Martin Luther, and said the King would act in like manner. He reprobated the Friar's sayings, and upheld the authority of the Pope, and finally published the Papal brief, saying King Henry had written a work against Luther which Cardinal Wolsey held in his hand, but it was not yet completed. After this, the condemnation was published, together with its approval by the King. The ceremony lasted until after 2 p.m.

The Cardinal invited the ambassadors and bishops to dine with him, and the banquet was sumptuous.‡

The Royal Courts (*li consegli regj*) have condemned the Duke of Buckingham to death. He will be definitively sentenced this morning (13 May) at Westminster, the final sentence having been passed

* "*In questa matina domenica*," *query last Sunday morning.* As seen by the letter of Lodovico Spinelli (no. 213) the date should be 12th May. See also Roscoe's Life of Leo X. vol. iv., Appendix, p. 28, edition, Liverpool, 1805.

† At the close of his despatch the ambassador writes that the King was ill in bed with tertian ague.

‡ In Roscoe's Life of Leo X. (p. 28, Appendix, vol. 4) there is an account of this ceremony, taken from the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum.

1521.

ordering him for decapitation; and he is gone back to the Tower to be executed according to the custom here, and they will do by him as was done by his father and grandfather.

The King is in bed with tertian ague.

A brief has arrived from Rome giving greater authority to the Legate Cardinal Wolsey than he had previously.

The Cardinal wished the Scotch truce to be prolonged for eight months rather than for ten, but at length agreed to the latter term. The King has not yet signed.

Requests that his successor may be despatched.

London, 13th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 14.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlvii. p. 185, tergo.

211. CHAIN pawned to the MASTER of the ROLLS.

Decree of the Senate.

By the statement now made by the nobleman Andrea Badoer, Knight, this Council understands that on his departure from England, as our ambassador, he was compelled to leave there in pawn the chain given to him by that most Serene King. That chain being evidently no longer recoverable, the Vice-Chancellor to whom it was pledged having died, it is fitting to settle this matter.

Put to the ballot, that our nobleman above mentioned within the next eight days do pay into our Procurator's office of St. Mark 400 ducats, ready money, in lieu and payment of the above-written chain.

Ayes, 116. Noes, 27. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 10 lines.*]

May 14.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 221.

212. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Congratulated King Francis on his victory at Pampeluna. He replied that he had written to the King of Navarre, desiring him, on entering his kingdom, to league with the commons of Spain; and that although the army of the Junta had been routed, and their commander D. Juan de Padilla put to death, the Bishop of Zamora nevertheless had come out of Toledo and taken the field. The kingdom of Navarre being now conquered, he will lend part of his troops there in aid of Robert de la Mark. The Emperor has no one with him but the King of England, who, owing to this plot of the Duke of Buckingham, will not quit his realm.

Dijon, 14th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 14–17.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 237.

213. LODOVICO SPINELLI, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in England, to his brother GASPARO SPINELLI, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in France.

On Sunday last, the 12th, the ambassadors, Papal, Imperial, and Venetian, were taken to a palace of the Queen's,* and there during

* Queen's Wardrobe ?

1521.

two hours awaited the Cardinal of York, the Legate, who came on horseback with a great train of nobility. On his arrival all went processionally to the cathedral church of St. Paul's, where on dismounting they were met by the dean and canons in their copes, and proceeded thus to the high altar.

The Cardinal was under a canopy, an unusual thing, and after the oration gave the blessing, whereupon all went out of the church processionally, into the churchyard, where there was a lofty platform, which we ascended in great confusion. On this stage was a high chair with its canopy of cloth of gold. In this chair Cardinal Wolsey seated himself, having on his right hand the Papal Nuncio [Ghinucci] and part of the English bishops, and on his left the Imperial and Venetian ambassadors, with the rest of the bishops. In the centre were prelates and lay lords and plebeians. The Cardinal and the others having seated themselves, the Bishop of Rochester ascended a pulpit and delivered an English oration, two hours in length, against Friar Martin Luther, which, being ended, was much commended by Cardinal Wolsey. Then the Cardinal made a speech also in English, excommunicating and cursing Martin and his followers. During the delivery of these speeches, the Lutheran works were burnt.

These ceremonies being concluded, the Cardinal gave the blessing to all present, and everybody returned home. Thus Luther's festival terminated, upwards of 30,000 persons attending its celebration. The ambassadors accompanied the Cardinal to his dwelling, and dined with him.

The French ambassador was not invited on account of the disputes with the Emperor about precedence.

On the morrow, the 13th of May, at 8 o'clock, the Duke of Buckingham was conveyed by water from the Tower to Westminster for judgment, under a strong escort of armed men, lest he should be rescued, by reason of his numerous followers in London. In the evening he was again sent back to the usual prison at the Tower, being led through the town on foot, preceded by the axe with its edge turned towards him, indicating death, according to the custom of this realm.

From what has been told us, the Duke spoke in his defence for an hour, confuting the charges brought against him with great eloquence, in such wise that all were affected, and no one dared pass sentence; so the Duke perceiving their silence and whispering, urged them to speak, assuring them that he knew it was the King's will that he should die, and that he was content to accept the punishment, not for the crime laid to his account, which was utterly false, but for his very great sins. His death is universally lamented by all London.

Above the two placards at the doors of the Church excommunicating Luther and his works in the name of the Cardinal, the following words were added in some unknown hand; namely, over one,

"Bulla Bullæ ambæ amiculæ;"

and over the other,

"Araine ante tubam."

1521.

This has greatly displeased the Cardinal, and, from what I understand, he has determined to excommunicate the writer, although he knows not who the author is.

This morning the late Duke of Buckingham was taken "*in forza de' brazi*" from the Tower to the scaffold, at the usual place of execution, with a guard of 500 infantry. He addressed the populace in English. Then on his bended knees he recited the penitential psalms, and with the greatest composure calling the executioner, requested that he would dispatch him quickly, and forgave him; after which he took off his gown, and having had his eyes blindfolded, he laid his neck on the block, and the executioner with a woodman's axe* severed his head from his body with three strokes.

The corpse was immediately placed in a coffin and carried to the church of the Austin Friars, accompanied by six friars and all the infantry.

The death of the Duke has grieved the city universally. Many wept for him, as did one-third of the spectators, among whom was I. Our Italians had not the heart to see him die. And thus miserably, but with great courage, did he end his days on the 17th of May.

London, 14th–17th May 1521. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 218.

214. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

On this morning at 11 a.m. the Duke of Buckingham was beheaded publicly on a scaffold on the square at the Tower of London. He received his first sentence on the 13th.

London, 17th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 201.

215. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Informed by King Francis that Sir Richard Pace,† the English ambassador, had been sent by King Henry to contradict the report of his negotiating the marriage of his daughter to the Emperor and of his interview with the Emperor. King Henry declared he meant to maintain the promise of marriage contracted with the Dauphin; and had answered the Emperor explaining the needlessness of a conference, and that ambassadors would suffice for what was required. The King of England complained of the stirs made by Robert de la Mark, by the Duke of Guelders, and by the Prince of Navarre, with the assistance and encouragement of his most Christian Majesty. He regretted the occurrence of these disputes (*controversie*) between the Christian powers, and offered himself as arbitrator of their differences.

To this King Francis had replied, he had never believed these

* "Una scure da sinder legne."

† "*Domino Richardo Paseo*" in the original. This is in mistake for Sir Richard Jerningham, who was sent to Francis at this time to act as colleague to Sir William Fitz William.

1521.

things, as he knew his brother the King of England was disposed to keep faith with him; and it was unnecessary he should arbitrate, as he (King Francis) required nothing of the Emperor save that the kingdom of Navarre should be given to its rightful owner, as stipulated by the articles signed between them, and that the Emperor should do homage for Flanders, and pay the 150,000 ducats due for the kingdom of Naples. The Emperor, therefore, was in the wrong, and he had sent to defy him.

Dijon, 17th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 18. **216.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 9, St. Mark's Library.

The Pope had received the declaration made by the Emperor against Martin Luther, the copy of which the Signory will have already received.

This declaration the Pope caused to be read in full consistory, and it gave universal satisfaction, the Emperor having shown himself Catholic, and the good son of the Apostolic See.

On the morning before last (he, Contarini, being present) in the Emperor's chamber, the contents of these letters were notified to his Majesty by the Nuncio in the company of Dom. Hieronimo Leandro. In the opinion of intelligent persons, the reported capture of Martin Luther by Hector, the Bohemian, was a fiction, and Luther is safe and sound in Saxony, and as popular as ever.*

Worms, 18th May.

[*Italian, 5½ pages.*]

May 19. **217.** The SAME to the SAME.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 11, St. Mark's Library.

Report that an ambassador from the King of England to the Emperor [Sir Richard Wyngfeld] has already crossed the Channel, and has arrived in Flanders.† It is supposed that the Emperor will request the Electors to be present when he announces the object of his mission, to show that his Majesty wishes for their advice and opinion, so as to make use of them in this his need.

Worms, 19th May 1521.

[*Italian, 1 page.*]

May 21. **218.** REGINALD POLE at Padua.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 194.

On the 21st of May a patent was made out for Sir Reginald Pole,‡ the kinsman of the King of England, who is come to study at Padua, authorizing him to export plate, clothes, &c.

[*Italian.*]

* "Et ritrovasse esso Lutherio in le parte di Saxonia sano et gagliardo cum el pristino favor."

† By a note in "State Papers," vol. i. p. 10, it is seen that Cuthbert Tunstall returned from an embassy to the Emperor in April 1521. Sanuto, date London 3rd April 1521, mentions the intended mission to the Emperor of "*Dom. Corado*," meaning apparently Sir Richard Wyngfeld. (See State Papers, vol. vi. pp. 70–73, and a foot note also, vol. vi. p. 78.) The letter in the sixth volume of the State Papers, pp. 68–69, signed by the two Wyngfelds and Spinelli, should be dated 1522, not 1521. In May 1521 the Emperor held his Court at Worms, in 1522, at Bruges. Compare also the *contents* of the letter with Guicciardini, vol. iii. p. 368.

‡ "Domino Rainaldo Polo."

1521.
May 21.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 263.

219. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Had announced the execution of the Duke of Buckingham. The cause was, that a certain Carthusian monk [Nicholas Hopkins], of great fame as a holy man, told the Duke that by Divine inspiration he knew the King would shortly die. Whereupon the Duke commenced negotiating with divers lords, that in the event of the King's death the kingdom should not pass to the Princess, but to him; and he wrote letters which reached the King's hands, as did one from his chancellor [Robert Gilbert], who also accused him. He was therefore put to death for having plotted against the Crown.

The King is cured of his fever, and has gone to a palace called Eltham, belonging to the Cardinal, who is also to proceed thither.

The truce with Scotland is concluded for 10 months, on condition that ambassadors shall be sent hither to conclude the adjustment.

Cardinal Wolsey would fain adjust the disputes between the Emperor and France, and mediate together with the King. To effect this object two ambassadors were dispatched, as written in former letters.

The Flemings apparently refuse to go for judgment,* as bound, to the Parliament of Paris.

The Diet of Germany is dissolved, and the Emperor is expected in Brabant and Flanders.

London, 21st May. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 22.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 12, St. Mark's Library.

220. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Expected arrival of a second ambassador [Sir Richard Wyngfeld] from England, the resident ambassador [Spinelli] having told his (Contarini's) secretary that he had already reached Cologne, and would be at Worms tomorrow, or on Friday [the 24th] at the latest.

In the course of conversation, the secretary inquired what was the object of this mission. Spinelli replied that his King having sent an ambassador to the King of France† to dissuade him from waging war on the Emperor, he thought fit to do the like by his Imperial Majesty, to urge him also not to have recourse to the sword. Spinelli added, "Rest assured, secretary, that my King wishes for peace and not for war between these two sovereigns, but, above all, he will not permit the King of France to *control* the Emperor,‡ who, though he is proceeding against one who is his subject and vassal, such as Robert de la Mark, is opposed by the King of France,—a thing contrary to law."

Spinelli added many other words indicative of dissatisfaction on the part of the King of England with the French demonstrations against the Emperor.

Mons. de Chièvres has been given over by the physicians.

Worms, 22nd May 1521.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages.*]

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* "Andar a raxon."

† Sir Richard Jerningham was sent at this time to France as ambassador extraordinary. He arrived at the French Court on 16th May, as appears in Mr. Brewer's Calendar. Sir William FitzWilliam was the English resident ambassador in France.

‡ "Non è per permetter che'l Re de Franza *superi* questa Maestà Cesarea."

1521.

May 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 202.

221. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

An ambassador has arrived from Scotland to request the Duke of Albany, who is at his estates in Provence, to assume the government of that kingdom.

The Emperor's ambassador has been with Madame [Louise], and told her that the words uttered by him to King Francis were not a defiance to war. She replied, "You in short choose war, not abiding by that whereby you are bound to abide."

Had visited Madame, who acquainted him with the statement made to her by the Imperial ambassador, and with the fact that he had proposed the King of England as mediator.

Dijon, 22nd May. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 24. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 13, St. Mark's Library.

222. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The new ambassador [Sir Richard Wyngfeld] from the King of England arrived here yesterday at noon, and made his entry without any ceremony, save that of being met on the road. The same evening he conferred with the Emperor for the space of an hour.

Concerning the object of his mission, had been unable to elicit anything farther than was told to the secretary by Wyngfeld's colleague, Spinelli.

The Pope gives the Emperor fair words, with which the Imperialists are not satisfied; and now they consider the Pope a Frenchman.

This morning Mons. de Chièvres received extreme unction, and is in the hands of his Maker.

Worms, 24th May 1521.

[*Italian, 4 pages.*]

May 26. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 14, St. Mark's Library.

223. The SAME to the SAME.

A brief had arrived from the Pope in praise of the declaration made against Martin Luther, exhorting the Emperor to continue persecuting him, and to issue his Imperial mandates for the burning of his works and books. Orders given for committing to the flames all the works of Martin Luther; he himself to be outlawed and forbidden to reside in these parts.

Worms, 26th May 1521.

[*Italian, 6 pages.*]

May 28. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 15, St. Mark's Library.

224. The SAME to the SAME.

Last night, at about 10 p.m., Mons. de Chièvres expired. It had been rumoured that he had bequeathed some 500,000 ducats to the Emperor, but neither by the will nor yet by the codicil, added lately, has he left his Majesty anything whatever. It was considered certain that he had left a very great amount of treasure, of which the Spaniards declare publicly that Spain has been deprived, Chièvres appropriating it to himself, of his own accord, and not as a boon from his Sovereign. The like is said of him by the Neapolitans, so that he leaves a bad character; and he is also considered to have been a Frenchman.

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Owing to his death the Chancellor [Gattinara] will augment his authority with the Emperor (although it is already great), as will also his brother-in-law De Bresse [the Governor of Bresse ?]. The management of everything will rest in the hands of these two individuals.

Had visited the new English ambassador [Sir Richard Wyngfeld], who in truth appeared to him a worthy gentleman (*degno zentilhomo*). The French ambassador says that Sir Richard Wyngfeld was the person through whose mediation the interview between the Kings of England and France was arranged, and that his most Christian Majesty gave him a very noble and costly service of silver plate.*

Endeavoured to elicit the object of Wyngfeld's mission, hinting how desirable it would be to make peace between the Emperor and France; but the only reply he could obtain was that the King of England would mediate as one anxious for peace.

The imperial mandates against Martin Luther had been issued; and it was said that on the morrow (the 29th of May) such of his printed works as could be found, whether in German or Latin, would be burnt in the market place of Worms.

Worms, 28th May 1521.

[*Italian*, $1\frac{3}{4}$ *page.*]

May 28. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 263.

225. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

On the 22nd received the Signory's letters of the 17th and 27th April and 1st May, with the summaries from Germany, Hungary, and Constantinople. Went yesterday to communicate them to Cardinal Wolsey, who thanked the State, saying he and the King were anxious for peace amongst Christians, and had received from the Emperor the instrument of compromise, appointing them judges of his disputes with France, whereupon they wrote to King Francis, offering, should he consent, to accept this office. Cardinal Wolsey said, "The King wants to recover Navarre; should he obtain it, he will lose France." He then spoke of the journey of Gritti to Milan, to inspect the passes, saying it was unnecessary to send him, as he (Wolsey) had given assurance that for this year the Emperor would not come into Italy, but that Lautrec made Gritti go, to give himself repute. Apologized for the Signory, saying that he went to visit Lautrec, who was going to France. The Cardinal said the State must not show herself so much inclined towards France, lest they render the other powers hostile to Venice, and that the Diet had promised the Emperor 54,000 infantry and much cavalry, besides what he has of his own. Moreover, it was not true the King of France had subsidized the Switzers, though they indeed promised him not to molest the Milanese. This was written by the Swiss Cardinal [of Sion] to Cardinal Wolsey, with whom he (Surian) then went to dinner.

Dated 28th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th June.*

[*Italian.*]

* "Una credentiera de arzenti molto honorevole et richa."

1521.
May 28.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 263.

226. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

After dinner discussed various topics with Cardinal Wolsey, who said "Your Doge is a holy duke." He then spoke about the news of Gazelli, and his defeat, in consequence of which Syria had returned under the Turkish yoke. Does not believe anything about the Sophy [of Persia]. Inquires whether the Signory has sent an ambassador to Sultan Soliman, and thinks it would be well to send soon, to keep peace with him. The Cardinal then commenced talking about the Emperor, and said he means to come into Italy, and that if those sovereigns accepted their* mediation, he (Wolsey) would be mindful of the Signory, as he wished for peace.

Dated 28th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 29.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 264.

227. The Same to the Same.

Was told by the French ambassador [De la Bâtie] that the truce with Scotland was not yet positive, and that the Cardinal would not ratify it for more than eight months. He has not chosen to sign and send it to Scotland by a Scottish gentleman who came to take it, but is delaying in order that he may [first?] see the reply of the King of France, so that the dissatisfaction of the English government at the successes of King Francis against the Emperor is manifest. A gentleman [the Sieur de Montpésat] has arrived from the French Court with the [power for the] compromise.

It is reported that Friar Martin Luther has been captured and will be given up to the Pope.

Don Ferdinand has quitted the Court at Worms for his marriage to the sister of the King of Hungary, after which he will return to Flanders.

Cardinal Wolsey had made the same communications to the French ambassador as to him (Surian).

Dated 29th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 3.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 17.

228. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Understands from the Chancellor that the King of England is mediating strenously for peace between the Emperor and France; though the King has not yet heard of the attack on Navarre. The Chancellor trusted that, on being acquainted with it, England would declare for the Emperor against France, in observance of the league between the three powers, to the effect that whichever of them commenced war was to be attacked by the other two; a compact to which the King of England had frequently signified his assent.

Mayence, 3rd June 1521.

[*Italian, 4¼ pages.*]

June 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 244.

229. Alvise Gradenigo to the Signory.

Was told by the Pope that the entry of the French troops into Navarre, and their blockade of Pampeluna, had been confirmed by his Nuncio in France. The King of England would now be unable

* *Scil.*, the mediation of King Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey.

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to mediate between the Emperor and King Francis, because matters had advanced too far.

Dated 3rd June. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 4. **230.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 261.

Mons. d'Aubigni has arrived from Scotland, and Mons. de Marigny, late ambassador in England, has been replaced by Mons. de la Bâtie.

Dijon, 4th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 5. **231.** EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 216.

Yesterday morning Nicolò Tiepolo, LL.D., ambassador elect to England, announced in the College that as the motion for him to receive 120 ducats monthly salary in England could not be put, he declined the embassy.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. **232.** FRANCESCO CORNARO.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 223.

Report of England made by him in the Senate, on returning from his embassy to the Emperor Charles V.

On the 20th of May 1520 the Emperor embarked at Corunna with some 40 ships, crossed the bay of Biscay, and on the 27th landed at Dover, and conferred with the King and Queen of England.*

The reigning King is about 30 years old ; has a very handsome face and a well-proportioned body, is sage, learned (*virtuoso*), gracious, and endowed with every excellent accomplishment (*virtù*). He has an only daughter, about five years old, who is married to the Dauphin, the son of the King of France.

The government is exclusively in the hands of the Cardinal of York, who is from 45 to 50 years old, hale, and of good presence, but proud and very choleric. He rules the entire kingdom, and may be considered King so far as its administration is concerned.†

The annual surplus revenue of the Crown exceeds 500,000 ducats, so the King is supposed to be very rich, and to have increased what was left him by his father, although he is said to have spent 3,000,000 of gold in the war against France, besides a considerable sum at the interview with King Francis. Notwithstanding, he is supposed to have more ready money than any sovereign in Christendom.

This is as much as I could learn of the kingdom of England during the few days of my stay there.

On the last day of May [1520] we quitted the island, and disembarked in Zealand on the 1st of June.

[*Italian.*]

* I omit the commencement of this account of England, because it corresponds with Quirini's report made to the Senate on the 10th of October 1506, which is printed in Alberi's Collection of Venetian Reports, series I. vol. I. p. 18 ; edit. Florence, 1839.

† Then follow paragraphs copied from Quirini, a proof that for the composition of similar papers the diplomatists of Venice condescended occasionally to use a "*crib.*"

1521.
June 1–6. **233.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 293.

Arrival of Paiton [*sic*, Montpésat] from the King of France. Has spoken with him. He is returning to France, and says that King Henry had not taken amiss the capture of Pampeluna, but would mediate to prevent war. With this message he returns to France. The Emperor has empowered King Henry to make terms, but Cardinal Wolsey is dissatisfied, and the King has made no effort to induce King Francis to place himself in his hands, because he wishes to decide about the Emperor's coronation and his coming into Italy.

The truce with Scotland has been concluded and signed, on which account the ambassadors of Scotland are coming to London to negotiate the peace there. The French ambassador in England has promised not to give this charge (*capitulation*) to the French, in order that they [the Scottish ambassadors] may come, and thus give repute to King Henry.

Conversations with Cardinal Wolsey and the French ambassador about these disputes. The King would never endure war between the Emperor and King Francis, and would reconcile them. Mons. de la Bâtie is expected with the reply of King Francis.

Artillery is being shipped for conveyance to Calais. Beyond seas [*i.e.*, at Calais] there are other movements, some say to do honour to the Emperor on his coming; others on account of Terouenne, it seeming indeed that there are Imperial troops in that neighbourhood.

London, 1st, 3rd, and 6th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 8. **234.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 261.

Was told by King Francis he had received letters from the King of England and the Cardinal, announcing their wish to arbitrate between him and the Emperor, and that the Cardinal would go to Calais to pass sentence.

Although the Emperor sent the power of attorney, King Francis would not make any compromise, having already proved his rights, though should the King of England choose to act as a friendly pacificator, he (King Francis) would be well satisfied. This reply he gave by word of mouth and in writing to the English ambassador [Jerningham], and said he rejected the mediation, because Cardinal Wolsey had said he would "pass sentence," whereas no sentence was needed where matters are clear.

Was told by Madame [Louise of Savoy] that the English ambassador had spoken to her as above, and she referred him to King Francis, knowing he would not accept the arbitration.

Dijon, 8th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 10. **235.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 293.

Mons. Poisam,* who was sent by King Francis to substantiate his charges against the Emperor to King Henry, has returned

* Anthony des Prez, Sieur de Montpesat. In "State Papers," vol. VI., part v. p. 77, the name is written "*Mountpeyssard.*"

1521. from England. He brings back word King Henry will mediate and has received the Emperor's assent to this effect.

Dijon, 10th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 13. **236.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 323. Communicated to Cardinal Wolsey the letters relative to the agreement touching the affairs of the Friuli made through the intervention of Jacomo Florio. The Cardinal was glad such an agreement had been made, and that during this interval the Signory's subjects were secured against war. With regard to the news from Syria, he said he rejoiced to hear that Gazeli was resuscitated. Touching the disputes between the most Christian King and the Emperor, he said they were expecting the assent of King Francis to the appointment of King Henry as the arbitrator; that he (Wolsey) meant them to submit all their disputes, and the compromise to be general; and that the King of England will be hostile to the party which shall refuse to act thus.

The French ambassador told him (Surian) that King Francis will never assent; that he would indeed acknowledge the King of England as a friendly mediator, but not as an arbitrary judge.

Has spoken with Secretary Pace about the artillery sent by the King across the Channel. He said it was merely for the purpose of supplying the King's towns beyond seas.

The capture of Martin Luther has not proved true. The King is at Richmond, and will not come to Greenwich on account of the pestilential fever which is very rife there, and also here in London.

Beseeches the State to despatch his successor.

London, 13th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 3rd July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 14. **237.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxx. p. 293. The most Christian King, on hearing the message brought by Mons. de Paitom [*sic*, Montpésat] from England, seems content to place himself in the hands of King Henry, not as a judge, but as a friend and mediator (*amico compositor*). He has despatched one of the English ambassadors who were here to the Emperor's Court * to see whether the latter is willing to grant three demands: the tribute due for the kingdom of Naples; homage for Flanders; the King of Navarre to retain his kingdom as stipulated heretofore. The ambassador departed with these instructions, and will return in ten days.

Dated 14th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 27th June.*

[*Italian.*]

* The English ambassadors at this time in France were Sir Richard Jernegan and Sir William FitzWilliam. Neither of them repaired to Germany at this time, but they dispatched Richmond Herald to the Imperial Court with instructions for Sir Richard Wyngfield, the English ambassador there. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, III., No. 1,331.)

1521.
June 18.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 12.

238. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sir William [Fitzwilliam], who went as ambassador to France, has returned with the announcement that King Francis will not grant any further power of compromise, but merely promises on his royal word to abide by what the King of England shall dictate.

The French ambassador likewise has been to Cardinal Wolsey on this business; they send Fitzwilliam back to France; and Mons. de Matregni [*sic*, Marigny], the French ambassador here, is also going, to put the finishing stroke to the conclusion of the compromise, for a considerable French force is in the duchy of Luxemburg, as likewise Imperial troops, and they would fain make truce between the sovereigns, but there are two difficulties,—France will not make truce, and continue to incur the present vast expenditure, nor has she assurance that the Emperor will be satisfied with the award of the King of England.

London, 18th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 19.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 23. St. Mark's Library.

239. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Congratulated the Chancellor on the reported retreat of the French from Navarre, as it might facilitate the adjustment between the Emperor and France.

The Chancellor replied,—"Such is my belief: and what makes us hope that the intelligence may be true is that, as you know, some days ago, so long back as when we were at Worms, the King of England sent an ambassador to the Emperor, requesting permission to mediate for peace between his Majesty and France.

"The Emperor made answer, that although he had been much outraged by the King of France,—who moreover favoured his enemies, such as Dom Robert de la Mark, whom he (the Emperor) meant to punish as a rebellious vassal,—nevertheless, to show the world his wish for peace, he was willing to accept the mediation of the King of England.

"The King of France made a reply at variance with that of his Imperial Majesty, for he told the King of England that the Emperor having proclaimed war against him (King Francis), he had raised an army of 40,000 foot and 4,000 spears, and did not think he could come to any agreement; saying, that if it were in his power he would deprive the Emperor of all his realms, expecting to find the Archduke of Burgundy in as lowly a plight as he was during many years. But now the King of France seems to have changed his mind, and tells the King of England that he is ready to make terms with the Emperor, urging Cardinal Wolsey to cross the Channel for a conference with his Imperial Majesty,—a proof that he has been disappointed in his projects."

The Chancellor said there was no question of a meeting between the King of England and the Emperor; the latter was to confer with Cardinal Wolsey alone.

The Chancellor also said that the appearance of the Emperor's forces on the banks of the Tronto was caused by a statement which

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the King of France made to the King of England, implying an intended attack on the kingdom of Naples. The departure of the Emperor from Brussels for Ghent was to be delayed until the decision of the King of England should be known with regard to the mission of Cardinal Wolsey to the Imperial Court.

Brussels, 19th June 1521.

[*Italian*, 4¼ *pages.*]

June 23. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 22.

240. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey have sent Sir William Fitzwilliam again to France, but he did not depart until late yesterday. King Henry desires to mediate between the Emperor and King Francis, and on Fitzwilliam's return will send three ambassadors, namely, Dom. John . . . . , the Rev. Agiense [Bishop of Ely ?], and the Lord Chamberlain [the Earl of Worcester], first to the Emperor, and then to King Francis, to induce them to come, the one to Gravelines, and the other to Gades (*sic*). Cardinal Wolsey is to cross to Calais, where he will endeavour to adjust their disputes, though of this the French ambassador [De la Bâtie] in London said nothing.

Should Cardinal Wolsey cross the Channel, will accompany him. Requests, therefore, that his successor may be despatched, to prevent the necessity for his own return to England.

The Bishop Avengiense [Silvester de' Gigli, Bishop of Worcester ?] is dead ; his see, worth 2,000 ducats, has been conferred on . . . . .*

London, 23rd June. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 24. Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 27.

241. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The day before yesterday Sir Richard Wyngfeld departed on his way to England. Does not know the cause of so sudden a departure, but supposes it is to urge Cardinal Wolsey to come to the Emperor.

Brussels, 24th June 1521.

[*Italian*, 4¼ *pages.*]

June 26. Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 29.

442. The SAME to the SAME.

Receipt of letters from England. Nothing is said about them,—a proof their contents disappointed the Imperialists. Had they good news or fair hopes from the King of England, they would be unable to keep such to themselves, but proclaim their intelligence for reputation's sake, as customary with them.

Brussels, 26th June 1521.

[*Italian*, 5 *pages.*]

June 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 10.

243. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Has visited King Francis, who was occupied with his usual field sports. His Majesty spoke about Monsr. Poinol [*sic*, Montpésat], who went ambassador to England and has now returned, as also has

* De' Gigli died 16th April 1521. Cardinal Julius de' Medici was made administrator of the see by the Pope, and resigned that office in 1522.

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the English ambassador [Fitzwilliam], who had come to request the King to authorize King Henry to compromise the disputes between his Majesty and the Emperor. King Francis replied that he would not give any power to compromise, but that the King of England might adjust the disputes as a friendly mediator.

——, 29th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 74.

244. SETTING OF THE MIDSUMMER WATCH.

Letter from Lodovico Spinelli, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in England, to his brother Gasparo, Secretary of the Venetian Ambassador in France.

I will describe the pageant performed by the Londoners on the eves of St. John and St. Peter, for the ceremony on both occasions was the same;* nor do I believe that anywhere else in the world a similar mark of rejoicing is usual.

This entertainment lasted from 11 p.m. until 2 in the morning, and was conducted as follows:

First came some 15 men all in armour, with cressets,† followed by drummers with a very tall canvas giant, armed with bow, arrows, sword, and buckler, so constructed that he turned about from side to side, looking in every direction.

After this company marched 300 archers, all in armour *cap-à-pie.*

Then came another band of musicians with 50 pikemen, also armed in like manner in steel armour, and they were followed by a band of halberdiers also armed.

Next came another band of musicians, with 50 men and naked boys dyed black like devils,‡ with the dart and buckler in their hands, goading the followers of Pluto, who was on a pulpit under a canopy seated on a serpent that spat fire; he himself being naked, with a drawn sword in his hand so contrived that, when he brandished it, it made the serpent vomit very fetid sulphuric fire-balls: and on the pulpit in front of Pluto were figures of an ox, a lion, and some serpents.

Another band of steel-clad halberdiers marched next, preceding all the Prophets, with the tree of life§ sprouting from the belly of a recumbent male figure, and by certain mechanism the Prophets turned about from one side to the other.

They were followed by a band of halberdiers, next to whom came a platform on which was a castle accompanied by musicians, and within it some armed men, who as they moved caused the drawbridges to fall and rise, and on the walls were men standing with

* "One-half, to the amount of one hundred and twenty, went out on the eve of Saint John and the other half on the eve of St. Peter." (See Strutt's Sports and Pastimes, p. 361.)

† The cresset was a large lanthorn fixed at the end of a long pole, and carried upon a man's shoulder.

‡ Among the items for the Chester pageant on St. John's eve were "sixteen naked boys." (See Strutt's Introduction, p. xliii.)

§ Tree of Jesse? The words in the original are—"*dove era l'albore de la vita cum tutti li propheta, qual usciva del ventre de uno che giacca,*" etc. A very spirited and highly finished illumination by Giulio Clovio, representing the subject of the Tree of Jesse, is in the possession of A. H. Layard, Esq., M.P.

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stones in their hands for its defence against a Turkish horseman in pursuit, armed with a very long tin sword tinged with blood, who terrified those within, shouting in English ["*wo be*" ?].

Then came another band of halberdiers, followed by choristers on foot in white surplices, who preceded a stage on which was a very beautiful little girl under a canopy of brocade, representing the Virgin Mary, with four boys, also in white surplices, chanting "lauds." This canopy was covered with canvas painted red and artistically arranged, falling in festoons from the summit of the canopy to the ground.

Next came a band of halberdiers with a stage, on which was Saint George, in armour, choking a big dragon and delivering Saint Margaret.

Then followed a company dancing the morris dance, preceding a fine band of the city constables in armour with doublets of silk and cloth of gold and [gold] chains; and the mayor in armour on horseback clad in crimson damask, with his sword-bearer in armour before him, according to the custom here,—for he is never wont to go abroad unless preceded by the sword,—and with the two sheriffs on horseback, in armour, but with crimson surcoats, two pages, likewise on horseback, carrying their helmets. There were also some musketeers and a great number of torch-bearers.

Next came a band of halberdiers, behind whom, on a pulpit, was the isle of Patmos with Saint John the Evangelist and some towers, from one of which he was leaning, and beneath were two little boys.

Another band of halberdiers followed, with musicians and a stage, on which was Herod at table, with Herodias' daughter, the tumbler, and the executioner who beheaded St. John the Baptist, who was represented as being in prison on the pulpit described above.*

Then came a band of some 2,000 halberdiers, all accompanied from first to last by cresset bearers, and when they had passed, the spectators of both sexes, who were in very great number, returned home. The inhabitants, being apprehensive lest, as usual, these armed men should raise some tumult, kept very strict watch throughout the city.†

From London, the 1st of July 1521. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th July.*

[*Italian.*]

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* In the original "Et el spiculator che tagliò el capo a San Joanne qual *ne le carcere se vedea sopra ditto pulpito.*"

† I have given this letter in full, because it contains particulars which are not to be found in Hall, Stow, or Strutt concerning the "*Great Watches.*" It is possible that to counteract the effect of the lampoons posted at St. Paul's on the 12th May, the tumbling girl, Salome, may have played a more prominent part than usual on St. John's eve, to remind the Londoners of her mother Herodias, "*for John had said unto Herod, it is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife.*" The appearance of the *Prophets* is not mentioned in any other account of similar pageants, but that these shows were rendered allusive to passing events, as well as to scriptural legends, may be inferred from the assault made by the Turkish horseman in Chepeside on the pasteboard Castle of Belgrade, which Sultan Solyman was then besieging in reality, and finally took in the month of August 1521, some six weeks after the "*setting of this midsummer watch.*"

The last allusion in the Venetian despatches to the "Setting of the Midsummer Watches"

1521.
July 1.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 4.

245. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

A new ambassador has arrived here from the King of England,* and urged King Francis to empower King Henry to make the compromise, as the Emperor was content to do so. King Francis is willing that King Henry should act as a friendly mediator, but not as an arbitrator.

Dijon, 1st of July. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 2.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 35.

246. The SAME to the SAME.

The ambassador from the King of England has gone back to England with the reply received from his most Christian Majesty.†

Argilly, 2nd July. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 2.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 32, St. Mark's Library.

247. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On 20th June the King of Denmark arrived at Antwerp with nine ships. It is maintained that he is come in order to join the Emperor against France, and that, besides the nine vessels now at Antwerp, there are others on the way with infantry. But the opinion that he is come on a mere visit seems the more credible, as no rejoicings have been made at Brussels.

There is no news from England. Affairs in that quarter appear to have cooled exceedingly.

Brussels, 2nd July 1521.

[*Italian, 4 pages.*]

July 4.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 33.

248. The SAME to the SAME.‡

Yesterday the King of Denmark made his entry here, after dining midway between Mechlin and this place.

At about 5 p.m. the Emperor mounted on horseback, accompanied by us three ambassadors, namely, the Nuncio [Caracciolo], the envoy from England [Spinelli], and myself, we having received notice to this effect; all the princes, lords, and gentlemen of the Court having likewise assembled with their attendants, numbering some 600 horse.

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is by Giovanni Michiel, in a letter dated at Richmond on 9th July 1555, thus:—"In London, which is the fountain-head of lies and popular disturbances, a great stir was made on occasion of the pageants performed by the people on the festivals of St. John and St. Peter. The populace had conspired to rise and come hither to the Court in arms; but the Lords of the Council, having received notice of this project, forbad the show, and imprisoned several of the ringleaders."

In Hall's Chronicle (p. 756, ed. 1809) it is stated that the watches were "laied doune" in 1528; and in Machyn's Diary there is no notice of the suppressed riot of 1555.

* Sir William FitzWylliam. (See State Papers, vol. VI., part v. pp. 73, 74.)

† Fitzwilliam and Jernegan wrote a joint letter to Henry VIII. from Argilly on the 2nd of July, and were at Dijon on the 10th July; so Badoer was misinformed about their movements, as he himself states in the following despatch.

‡ Although this letter is not immediately connected with England, its contents are worth comparing with the account of Wolsey's entry into Bruges as described by Gasparo Contarini, date 16 August.

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The Emperor wore a doublet of figured cloth of silver, and took to horse in the park, where we were awaiting him, and there made a slight personal display of horsemanship, performing sundry equestrian feats with much agility, thus eliciting universal applause. Then he proceeded to meet the King of Denmark, riding well nigh a distance of six Italian miles.

The King of Denmark came on a common cart,* such as the natives of the neighbouring cities of Antwerp, Ghent, &c. employ for travelling purposes; he sat quite by himself, all his attendants being on horseback.

When they arrived at the distance of an arbalast shot one from the other, the Emperor halted, the spot chancing to be a broad meadow, and the King of Denmark descended from the cart and mounted a hackney.

His Danish Majesty wore a doublet of black satin, with a black cloth cape in the Spanish fashion, and on his head was a black velvet cap with a pendent pearl.

The horsemen having then formed a double line, the Emperor and the King rode along it, spurring towards each other. When the Emperor motioned to dismount, the King of Denmark anticipated him, and was first on foot, the Emperor following his example. They then embraced cap in hand.

On resuming their bonnets the "Audiencier"† acted as interpreter, and the usual compliments were exchanged, the Emperor speaking French, and the King of Denmark German.

From what he (Contarini) understood, the King said, amongst other things, that from his intense desire to see the Emperor he had not scrupled to traverse 100 German leagues incognito, passing through an enemy's country. He then made great offers of service, which the Emperor reciprocated becomingly, the conversation lasting nearly a quarter of an hour, after which they remounted their horses, the halt having been of such duration that the ambassadors and some of the other personages had time to present their respects to the King and to kiss his hand.

Proceeding onwards, the Emperor wanted to place the King on his right hand, to which he would, however, never consent; nay, as a mark of respect, he chose to ride at a little distance, somewhat in the rear, which the Emperor constantly perceiving, waited for him, and rode by his side; and they talked together without an interpreter.

They entered Brussels half an hour after sunset by the light of innumerable torches, bonfires blazing in the streets, the houses being illuminated, and decorated with tapestry and cloths of silk, flowers, and foliage, as marks of rejoicing.

With this pomp the King of Denmark was escorted to the lodging assigned him, viz., the palace of the Count of Nassau, at a short distance from that of the Emperor. On passing the Imperial palace, the King urged the Emperor strongly not to accompany him any

* "Veniva sopra uno charo positivo."

† Audiencier Haneton. See State Papers, vol. I., p. 22.

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farther, but the Emperor insisted on riding with him into the court-yard of the Nassau palace.

This evening (4th July) the Emperor gave a banquet to the King, and went to conduct him from his dwelling. On entering the banqueting hall together they were met at the door by the Lady Margaret and by the Queen widow of Aragon [Germaine de Foix], whom the King kissed in the French fashion; and after some conversation the four sat down to supper alone.

After supper there was an entertainment, and both their Majesties commenced dancing with the young gentlewomen. "And even now, at this second hour of the night, it is still in progress; young sovereigns such as these not tiring themselves easily."

Describes the King of Denmark, as follows:—"He is from 36 to 40 years old; his countenance indicates gravity and spirit;* he wears his beard curled in the Italian fashion, and not like the Germans; his hair likewise being wavy, rather than straight. He is of ordinary stature, rather tall than short, and well proportioned, neither spare nor corpulent."

He came by land, and not with his ships as reported by the Imperialists; his retinue consisting but of six individuals. They travelled post. The Chancellor assured him (Contarini) that the King rode 200 German leagues in 12 days, and performed half the journey incognito, traversing an enemy's country. According to report the Emperor will make use of him in the present war, by reason of his skill in military matters.

Brussels, 4th July 1521.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages*.]

July 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 71.

249. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Told by the French ambassador [De la Bâtie] that Cardinal Wolsey complained of King Francis' first reply; that he so long delayed answering, and had marched his army into Castille, and was under Logroño. The ambassador had justified King Francis, saying he had not entered Castille, and was willing that King Henry should act as mediator; so that Cardinal Wolsey was pacified.

The Emperor has apparently requested King Henry to confer with him at Calais; and the King answered he would send Cardinal Wolsey to act in his name.

Wishes to return home, and requests that an ambassador may be elected in his stead.

Arrival in London of an envoy [Haneton] from the Emperor. The Emperor will not compromise, unless the King of France first surrenders the kingdom of Navarre; being apprehensive that as France has conquered it, King Henry may say nothing more about its restitution. Therefore his Majesty has sent back Sir Richard [Wyngfeld] to the Emperor.

Dated 4th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th July.*

[*Italian*.]

* "Monstra in la faccia gravità, et vivacità."

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July 5.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 34.

250. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On that morning asked the Chancellor [Gattinara] what news he had from the King of England, as he has influence with both the Emperor and the King. The Chancellor replied:—

"The King of England wished to make peace, and has great authority with the Emperor, but not to the extent of inducing him to consent to a disgraceful agreement. Before the loss of Navarre the Emperor was willing to accept arbitration, but he cannot do so now, unless the King of France restore that kingdom, and make compensation for the damage done in Castille. The King of England is bound by the treaty to succour the Emperor, and we trust he will abide thereby, and declare for us; though should he not do so the Emperor is able to stand alone."

As the Chancellor spoke rather coldly, infers the Imperialists will receive no assistance from England; and such also was the belief of some of the courtiers.

Brussels, 5th July 1521.

[*Italian*, 7 *pages*.]

July 6.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 1.

251. ANTONIO GRIMANI to HENRY VIII.

Announces the demise of Doge Leonardo Loredano. His own constant exertions, made for the benefit of the public service, have caused the State to consider him fit to rule. Although unequal to so high a post, yields to the opinion of the Senate, relying on divine providence, and causes this notification to be made to his Majesty as a mark of his (the Doge's) singular love and respect.*

Signed: Anto. Grimanus Dei gratia Dux Venetiarum.

Datæ in nostro Ducali Palatio die 6 Julij 1521.

[*Latin*.]

July 6.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. 86.

252. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Reply from France arrived, charging the French ambassador to tell Cardinal Wolsey, and subsequently King Henry, that King Francis will not agree to the compromise, as it is contrary to his honour, nor is it upon record that any King of France ever made a compromise; that the Emperor took one of his castles which was held by Robert de la Mark, and was therefore the first aggressor; that King Francis will send a herald to King Henry urging him, according to the articles of agreement, to act against the first invader, and, as the Emperor invaded the French dominions first, King Henry is either to oppose him or not interfere.

The French ambassador says Cardinal Wolsey hesitated on hearing this reply, and then said, "Exactly so: in the first place it must be ascertained who was the first invader, and the compromise made accordingly."

The French ambassador is of opinion Cardinal Wolsey will go to Calais, and perhaps to King Francis, but the latter will never

* In the original the missive runs thus:—. . . . . "Majestati vestræ ex officio singularis amoris et observantiæ nostræ erga illam declaranda curavimus." In date 26th September 1521 it will be seen that Secretary Pace objected to the omission of the word "*vale*," which, however, was not used in the letters whereby Doge Grimani announced his accession to Leo X., Charles V., Francis I., and other potentates.

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assent to the compromise. The Cardinal would wish a truce to be made. King Francis has three armies in the field, one in Navarre, the second in Luxemburg, with Robert de la Mark, and the third in Picardy; so that he (Wolsey?) has written to the King to know whether he will make this compromise.*

News received in London of the arrival at the Emperor's Court of the King of Denmark, with five attendants, for the purpose of commanding the Imperial army; a bad return to the King of France, who for two years assisted him with money, &c. against his enemies.

Should Cardinal Wolsey cross the Channel with the ambassadors, he (Surian) will accompany him, and that will be the third time of his making the passage.

London, 6th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 39.

253. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Spoke yesterday to King Francis, who told him he had written to the King of England about this stir made against him (King Francis) by the Pope, for whose support the Emperor was sending 300 spears into Italy, according to the treaty, in virtue of which the Pope gives him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. The Emperor promised the Pope two galleys and the 300 spears, and 7,000 ducats per annum as tribute for the kingdom of Naples. The Emperor had moreover promised him Ferrara, Lucca, Parma, and Piacenza. King Francis said the Pope had done this because he had not obtained Ferrara, and added, "We promised the Pope to restore Modena and Reggio to him according to the articles of agreement, and this was not enough for him."

The English ambassador [Fitzwilliam] had not departed, but sent a gentleman with the reply of King Francis.

Argilly, 6th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 9. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 36, St. Mark's Library.

254. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Emperor having summoned him on that morning to the palace, he there met the Papal Nuncio, and the English ambassador, Spinelli. In the presence of the Emperor, the Chancellor, and the Bishop of Palencia, the Nuncio, in the name of Leo X., announced an attack made by the French on Reggio, on the 23rd of June, and requested aid from the Emperor, and that he would communicate the circumstance to the other Christian powers, that they also might render assistance, and especially to the King of England, the Emperor's good friend and kinsman, who had ever been most closely linked with the Church. The Nuncio gave similar notice to the Venetians, and requested them, by virtue of their truce and peace with the Emperor, not to interfere or favour France, as the Pope meant to defend himself, and that they would allow the posts to pass through their territory.

* "Si che a scritto al Re s'il vol far ditto compromesso."

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The Emperor told him in reply that he understood the Pope's message, and would not fail to render such assistance to the Church as became a good Christian; and then turning towards the English ambassador, he said:—

"*Domine orator*, you have heard distinctly what the Nuncio said. Write the whole to your King, and intreat that, as our good friend and confederate, it may please him to declare himself in favour of the Church, as we hope he will."

To him (Contarini) the Emperor added, "And do you, *domine orator*, tell the Signory, in consideration of the good friendship and truce existing between us, to allow the posts to and fro between this and Rome, and which will be frequently on the road, to have passage, and not to give assistance to the French."

Answered discreetly, expressing his belief that the Signory, as a lover of peace, and entertaining vast respect for the Pope and the Emperor, would do nothing of which either of them could have just cause to complain.

The English ambassador made a very violent reply, saying that his King would regret to hear this, and that in a few days the Emperor would see him make a demonstration; adding, "These Frenchmen want to rule the universe."

Spinelli's words were of little weight, because, independently of his professing to be a thorough Imperialist (for the sake of finding favour with the Emperor), he is intrusted with but little business of importance, the King of England transacting such through other channels, as seen by the mission confided to another ambassador [Sir Richard Wyngfeld], who departed and is to return; and moreover a few days ago the Emperor sent an envoy of his own to England, namely, the audiencier Dom. Zuan Analt (*sic*),* whose advices are awaited, no news having been received thence.

Brussels, 9th July 1521.

[*Italian*, 5½ *pages.*]

July 11.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 156.

255. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

On the 22nd June received despatches from the State with the newsletters about Hungary and Constantinople. Was not able to communicate them to Cardinal Wolsey until this morning [11th July]. After reading the summaries to the Cardinal, thanked him for the good offices which he promised to employ on behalf of the Signory at Calais, according to the will of his King. The Cardinal made answer, first of all, that he was utterly devoted to the State, and would act in her favour. He then said, with regard to the summaries, "These newsletters from Hungary are fabulous; this is what the Signory does invariably whenever any congress of sovereigns is about to take place;" the Spanish ambassador in London having said that the intelligence was not credible. Rejoined that the Signory wrote the truth, and was anxious for the peace of Christendom, adding other expressions which the Cardinal resented. Perceived that the intelligence displeased him, and that he would

* Qu., Philip Haneton, Audiencier to Charles V. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, Vol. III. Nos. 1393–1395.) John Hannart was the Emperor's secretary.

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not listen to it, nor would he wish the King to know it, being intent on going to Calais. Offered to accompany him, but the Cardinal would not accept the proposal until he had spoken to the King on his return from his diversions. Said that he (Surian) himself would go to the King. The Cardinal desired him not to interrupt the royal amusements.

Having heard by private letters of the Doge's death,* announced it to the Cardinal, who praised the Doge much, calling him "a saint."

London, 11th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 11. **256.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 157.

The French ambassador sent his secretary to announce that he had complained to Cardinal Wolsey that the Emperor had invaded the duchy of Milan by means of the exiles; and that had it not been for the Venetian troops and the friends of King Francis the duchy would have been lost. That the Emperor was sending the Duke of Bari across the Alps for its invasion. That the truce had been first violated by the Emperor, and not by the King of France. Cardinal Wolsey was apparently surprised and well nigh offended at the aid given by the State to Milan, because had this not been the case, King Francis would have more readily consented to the agreement, but he (Wolsey) still wished the truce to be made for two months. The French ambassador replied that his King would not consent to a truce, which would enable the Emperor to prepare for war; for thus did France lose the kingdom of Navarre. The Cardinal, however, is preparing to cross over to Calais.

According to report, the King of Denmark has promised his brother-in-law, the Emperor, ten ships and his personal services, saying that he is unable to give him more.

London, 11th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 13. **257.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 38, St Mark's Library.

On the 10th, when on the point of following the Emperor to Antwerp, was seized with ague, and therefore sent his secretary instead to obtain the news of the Court.

On that evening (the 13th) the secretary came back, and reported that Sir Richard Wyngfeld, who went post from Brussels to England, had returned. It seems that, on behalf of his King, he has had audience of the Emperor, and besought him to make truce with France, and to refer the affair of Navarre to arbitration. To this the Emperor apparently made answer that in all matters he would gratify his Majesty, save in this, it being his intention to settle his disputes with the King of France by force of arms.

The Imperialists have small hopes of the King of England, who they expect will remain neutral, and not favour either party.

Brussels, 13th July 1521.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

* Doge Leonardo Loredano died on the 22nd of June 1531, at the age of 84, as stated in Sanuto's Diaries.

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July 11. Sanuto Diarii, v. xxxi. p. 127.

July 13. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 32, St Mark's Library.

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July 15. **258.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 45.

Proclamation in the Senate of the scrutiny made for an ambassador to England in the stead of Nicolò Tiepolo, LL.D., who had declined.

Eighteen candidates having been proposed, the choice fell on Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., who has not canvassed much, like the others.

	Ayes.	Noes.
Lodovico Falier - - - -	113	95
Marco Contarini - - - -	99	108
Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., proveditor for the offices - - - - -	126	79
Leonardo Venier, late "*auditor vecchio*" -	57	146
Marco Gradenigo, LL.D., late of the Senate -	65	145
Lorenzo di Priuli - - - -	78	126
Giovanni Basadonna, LL.D., late of the Senate -	80	129
Carlo Capello, late "*auditor novo*" - -	73	133
Francesco Morosini, LL.D., - - -	65	138
Andrea di Priuli, LL.D. - - -	63	139
Silvestro Memo, late of the "*Raxon vechie*" -	73	140
Mafio Lion, late "*avogador di comun*" -	104	109
Agustin da Cha da Pesaro, late "*auditor novo*"	75	132
Hirolamo Polani, LL.D, late of the Senate -	86	129
Nicolò da Ponte, LL.D., late of the Senate -	80	134
Marco Antonio Grimani - - -	65	147
Anzolo Gabriel - - - -	80	131
Bertuzi Soranzo, late "*auditor vechio*" - -	77	134

[*Italian.*]

July 15. **259.** The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in HUNGARY.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 3.

Received his letter, together with those from the King of Hungary addressed to the Pope and other Kings and Princes, concerning the important preparations of the Turk against him.

Have written to the Pope, to the Emperor, to the Kings of France and England, and to the Cardinal de' Medici at Florence, and will do their utmost with the sovereigns above mentioned.

Ayes, 188. Noes, 8. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

July 15. **260.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 68.

Has communicated the advices received from the Signory to King Francis, who told him that the King of England will act as mediator; wherefore King Francis will send three personages to Calais, the Lord Chancellor [Duprat], Mons. de la Palisse, and the President De Selva, with the secretary. The Emperor will send the Chancellor [Gattinara], Mons. De Berghes, and one of his auditors [Haneton ?] with the secretary. Cardinal Wolsey proceeds thither in the name of the King of England. In the meanwhile there will be a suspension of hostilities for three weeks. Has spoken with the Chancellor [Duprat], who confirmed the statement made by the King; and said

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King Francis has also written to the King of England, complaining of what the Pope has done, and awaits his reply.

Dijon, 15th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 73.

261. Giovanni Badoer to the Signory.

With regard to England, King Francis told me today that the three delegates will depart tomorrow for Calais, to conclude a truce for a month and a half; and they will be at Calais in three days.

Dijon, 16th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 16. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 41, St. Mark's Library.

262. Gasparo Contarini to the Council of Ten.

The French envoy accredited to the King of Denmark is negotiating zealously for peace on behalf of the King of France. The King of England, Monsr. de Montagni [Count of Hoochstrate], and the Lady Margaret also exert themselves warmly to this effect; the latter, at the instigation apparently of the King of France, proposing to arrange the affairs of the two Crowns by partitioning the Venetian territory.

Informed by a friend, who associated with the Nuncio, that he has seen the minute of a letter written to-day by the Nuncio to Rome, purporting that the Emperor informed the Pope that he must proceed to Italy, and that the King of England had not sufficient power to obtain either peace or truce; nor did he believe that the King of England could resuscitate the dead, implying that he considered the King of France disposed of; and that were the King of England compelled to declare himself, he would be in favour of him (the Emperor), and not of the King of France.

Antwerp, 16th July 1521.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

July 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 157.

263. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Yesterday Mons. de Montpésat, the French ambassador, returned from France, having come post haste to explain to King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey that the defeat which the Spaniards say they gave the French troops, killing 14,000 of them, was untrue, and that on the contrary, not a few Spaniards had been killed. He will confer with Cardinal Wolsey tomorrow, and, according to report, he brings the power authorizing King Henry to act as mediator; but of this the French ambassador [De la Bâtie] says he has no intelligence.

The envoys from the Pope and the Emperor [Ghinucci and De Mesa] have been together to the King, to acquaint him with the league and understanding formed between their masters. Everybody in London is astonished that after so close an alliance with France,

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the Pope should change sides so suddenly. The ambassadors aforesaid say the Signory likewise is with them; so they vapour vastly against the most Christian King.

Understands that the Pope has sent bulls to Cardinal Wolsey, authorizing him to confer the benefices of England and to receive the annats, except those of the bishoprics,—a thing never before conceded to any other magnate (*principe*). It is said the Pope has done this because he wants to obtain Ferrara.

London, 18th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 51.

264. Embassy to England.

Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., ambassador elect to England, to sit in the Senate until his departure.

[*Italian.*]

July 20. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 44, St. Mark's Library.

265. Gasparo Contarini to the Council of Ten.

Last evening the Emperor received letters from England. He sent immediately for the Chancellor, who, although ill of gout, attended. Believes these letters relate to the agreement between the Emperor and France, and announce Cardinal Wolsey's intended passage across the Channel.

Forms this conjecture because the Chancellor is going immediately to Calais, with Mons. de Berghes, and the Cardinal is to be there, as also an ambassador from the King of France.

Ghent, 20th July 1521.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

July 20. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 45, St. Mark's Library.

266. The Same to the Same.

Was informed on good authority of the arrival of a Franciscan friar accredited by the mother of the King of France to the Lady Margaret, requesting her mediation for peace between him and the Emperor on the following conditions: The King of France to renounce the kingdom of Navarre, and to make no farther claim to it; to acknowledge the Milanese as a fief from the Emperor, receiving its investiture; and finally to relinquish the tribute paid by the Emperor for the kingdom of Naples, provided he be permitted to take his revenge on the Pope for the treatment received from him.

The friar was answered immediately that the Emperor is perfectly willing to discuss the agreement and proposals concerning the kingdom of Navarre, the fief of the Milanese, and the Neapolitan tribute, but that with regard to allowing the King of France to take his revenge on the Pope, he knew not how to do so with honour, the Pope having made a demonstration in his favour.

On account of this proposal, a post has been despatched to England.

Adds that his informant asserts positively that the King of France requires the investiture of the Milanese to include Crema,

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Bergamo, and Brescia. This appears improbable for several reasons, but leaves the State to form its opinion thereon.

Ghent, 20th July 1521.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

July 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 86.

267. Giovanni Badoer to the Signory.

This morning the Chancellor and his colleagues departed on their way to Calais.

Dijon, 20th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th July.*

[*Italian*.]

July 22. Sanuto Diaries, p. xxxi. p. 157.

268. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Montpésat has been with King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey, and is returning post to France. He complained greatly of what the Pope had done, and is doing, against King Francis in the Milanese, and justified what the King had done at Reggio. He said that the Lord Chancellor [Duprat] and another personage were going to Calais, but that Cardinal Wolsey, not being well satisfied with the Chancellor, would prefer the Admiral [Bonnivet].

The departure [for Calais] is to take place on the 25th. The Cardinal is to be accompanied by four personages of account, (one of whom will be the Duke of Norfolk,) and some others, who in all will number 500 horse. The French ambassador is to go, but none of the other [ambassadors]; nor down to this present has anything been said to anyone. Is of opinion that the Cardinal will not choose him (Surian) to cross, because on asking his Lordship whether he had spoken to the King on the subject, he said "No," as he had been very much occupied. Has, however, made all his preparations for crossing with the Cardinal. Tomorrow purposes going to the Court to speak to the King on the subject.

Urges the appointment of his successor.

London, 22nd July. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th August.*

[*Italian*.]

July 23. Contarini's Letter Book, Letter no. 46, St. Mark's Library.

269. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

The Emperor is going to Bruges, and Cardinal Wolsey will proceed thither after his conference at Calais with the Imperial and French delegates.

Ghent, 23rd July 1521.

[*Italian, 3 pages*.]

July 24. Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 42.

270. Embassy to England.

Put to the ballot that Marco Antonio Venier, ambassador elect to England, may sit in the Senate until his departure.

Ayes, 158. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian, 9 lines*.]

July 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 125.

271. Giovanni Badoer to the Signory.

Was told by King Francis that the Emperor's army was receiving reinforcements, of which he had complained to the King of England, as this was being be done whilst the negotiation for truce was

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on foot, saying that he was not afraid of the Emperor, and that he should have 10,000 Switzers under the command of Mons. de Longueville, who, although young, is of the blood royal, and Mons. de la Motte will be his lieutenant.

Dijon, 24th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 25. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 181.

272. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

King Henry had said to him, "The Signory has sent troops to aid the most Christian King against the exiles, and has violated the truce with the Emperor, for it is said the King of France attacked him first; so I must act against the first aggressor." Replied that the Signory had not violated the truce, even supposing them to have given assistance against the exiles in the Milanese, as they were bound by the truce. The King was satisfied with this explanation. He then said he should send the Cardinal to Calais to reconcile these two sovereigns; not to pass sentence as a judge, but as a friendly mediator. He thought it would be difficult to pacify them, but he would endeavour to make a temporary truce between them. He perceived an obstacle to the peace, because the Emperor would not marry the daughter of King Francis according to promise. King Henry then greatly extolled the power of the Emperor, who, by the death of Mons. de Chièvres, had obtained 600,000 ducats; and said the King of Denmark had gone to him. That King is apparently the enemy of the King of England; and the French ambassador had told him (Surian) that it is his intention to tell King Henry evil of the King of Denmark, who would wish the Emperor to attack him.

Prayed the King to charge the Cardinal at this conference to have at heart the interests of the Signory. The King said he would do so, by reason of the love which he himself, like his father bore the State; and asked whether the galleys were coming. Replied that, owing to these disturbances, he did not know. The King rejoined, "They must come; should the Signory choose, I will obtain an ample safeconduct from the Emperor." Then, when speaking about the Cardinal's journey to Calais, the King asked whether he (Surian) was going, and persuaded him by all means so do to. Replied that he was ready to obey his Majesty accordingly.

Letters had arrived in London from Ragusa, with advices that the Turk [Sultan Solyman] had quitted Safra (*sic*), so that in England they now believe the Signory's despatches. The Papal bull and brief did *not* concern the annats, but the rest was correct. Cardinal Wolsey is to depart on the 29th. The Duke of Norfolk does not go, but the Cardinal will be accompanied by the Lord Chamberlain, the Bishops of Durham and Ely, the Grand Prior Commendatary [of St. John's] of England [Sir Thomas Docwra], and the Master of the Rolls [Cuthbert Tunstall]. The Papal Nuncio and the French and Imperial ambassadors are also going, so that no ambassador remains in England. The French ambassador also told him that on every account it was well he should go.

A diet is being held in Flanders about certain disputes concern-

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ing the merchants. This morning the government sends thither Sir Thomas More, Dr. Sampson, and Dr. Chiut (*sic.*).

Dated . . . . 25th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 27. **273.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 182.

Conversations with Cardinal Wolsey, who spoke to him in a high tone, to the same effect as the King had done, saying that the Signory had sent troops in aid of the King of France. Justified the Republic's pretensions. The Cardinal said the State ought not to have stirred, and then the King of France would have been more ready to make the agreement, &c. The Cardinal said he should cross the sea to Calais on the 29th, and would stipulate a truce, and desired him (Surian) to accompany him.

It would have been well to have sent his successor. The Pope is sending a new ambassador to Calais.

London, 27th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 29. **274.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 49, St. Mark's Library.

In consequence of the frequent mission of posts to and fro, between Ghent and England, and of the contradictory reports about peace,—it being also said that besides his other business Cardinal Wolsey would negotiate a marriage between the Lady Mary [of England] and the Emperor,—determined to visit the Nuncio [Caracciolo], as he receives constant advices from his colleague in England [Girolamo Ghinucci], who takes part in all the present consultations and is acquainted with everything.

Went to Caracciolo yesterday, and found with him the old English ambassador, the Florentine Spinelli, whose colleague Sir Richard Wyngfeld had departed on his way to meet Cardinal Wolsey at Calais.

The Nuncio said that the Cardinal had written to the Emperor requesting him to delay his departure from Ghent until he (Wolsey) should arrive at Calais, where he intended to be on Thursday or Friday next.

In reply to the good wishes expressed by him (Contarini) for the result of the conference both the envoys spoke unsatisfactorily. Omits the speech of Spinelli because, being a Florentine, and declaring himself a staunch Imperialist, he frequently in his language exceeds the bounds of propriety, though he would not, on this occasion, have expressed himself so strongly as he did against the King of France, or have maintained the justice of the Emperor's cause, unless he had some indication that his King inclined, or was on the point of inclining, towards the Emperor. Spinelli also said that before the war the Emperor consented to refer his disputes with France to the arbitration of England, but that the King of France refused, and did not communicate to the King of England his expedition against Navarre until on the eve of commencing it; showing thus that he did not trust him. Moreover, the King of France had violated the treaty stipulated between the three sovereigns,

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to the effect that all were to hold and enjoy their actual possessions, and that should any one of them commence hostilities the other two were to unite against him. Spinelli came to the conclusion his King would abide by the letter of the articles and adhere to the Emperor.

The Nuncio spoke with more reserve, and on the departure of Spinelli said, among other things, that although the King of England was urgent for peace, yet should the negotiations fail it was hoped he would adhere to the Pope, which would be tantamount to his joining the Emperor. He also remarked that, as talked of heretofore, there was another negotiation on foot for the marriage of the daughter of the King of England to the Emperor, and that, if it were effected, the King of France would then stand alone; nor did Caracciolo see how he could prevail.

Ghent, 29th July 1521.

[*Italian*, 7 *pages*.]

July 30.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 50, St. Mark's Library.

275. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Details a long conversation held by him with the Emperor's confessor, a Franciscan friar, in his monastery, who, at the suggestion of Contarini, spoke to the Emperor about the dread of Turkish invasion.* The result was announced by the confessor, as follows: "*Domine orator*, on Sunday I was a long while with the Emperor, in the presence of the Lady Margaret, and narrated to him what you told me, about the peril in which Hungary and all Christendom were placed by so serious a Turkish irruption, and that his Majesty ought to apply an opportune remedy. I then adroitly commenced speaking to him about peace and the advantages derivable thence.

"To the first point, the Emperor made answer that he had written to Austria and his other territories adjoining Hungary, ordering succour, both of cannon and infantry, and that he had done all he could for the moment, as it would be folly to lose his own for the sake of assisting his neighbour. My comment about peace, he answered thus: 'Who knows better than yourself, father, what I did, and how much I humbled myself to the King of France, in order to obtain peace? I now see that there is no other way to obtain a good peace than by force of arms.'"

To this the confessor said he rejoined, "Forgive me, sire! I will repeat to you what I told the Venetian ambassador,—and what I have moreover often said to your Majesty yourself,—namely, that you are endowed with every virtue, and have merely this defect, that with difficulty do you forget injuries; whereupon the ambassador remarked, that the forgiveness of injuries betokened magnanimity."

The Emperor answered me, smiling, "Don't suppose, father, that my heart is so hard that I reject peace; on the contrary, could I

* This Franciscan friar died at Valladolid on the 14th September 1522. He probably understood the character of Charles V. in his youth better than anybody. His name is not given by Gasparo Contarini, who, when recording his demise, wrote that "he left behind him the character of an excellent ecclesiastic." In his "Report," Contarini merely styles him "*il frate di San Francesco*."

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obtain a good, firm, and lasting peace, I would accept it; but the way to secure a good peace is to prepare oneself vigorously for war."

Commenced speaking about the King of England, and the confessor told him he understood the King was exerting himself to make peace between the two crowns, but concerning the treaty and marriage talked of at the Court, he said he knew nothing, and that if true it would be very important, as the King of England laid claim to Normandy. From his mode of answering perceived that the confessor really knew nothing about the matter, and coupling this with what the Nuncio said to him yesterday, does not believe that any treaty (the report of which he mentioned in his letter of the 27th) has been concluded between the Emperor and the King of England, although there has been some talk of it.

Ghent, 30th July 1521.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Aug. 2. 276. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 179. Was told by King Francis that the English ambassador [Sir William Fitzwilliam] urges him to make the truce, but he refuses, as it would be the ruin of the Italian expedition, because the Emperor will aid the Pope against France.

Nieli [Nolay ?], 2nd August. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th August.*

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 3. 277. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 51, St. Mary's Library. At 12 o'clock last night the Emperor received news of the arrival of Cardinal Wolsey at Calais yesterday.

The Emperor will depart hence for Bruges on Monday, and has sent the Count of Cariati and many other gentlemen to meet the Cardinal.

The ministry at Ghent consider the treaty between the Emperor and the King of England concluded.

Ghent, 3rd August 1521.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Aug. 3. 278. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 219. On 29th July quitted London with the French ambassador [De la Bâtie]. Cardinal Wolsey was half a day's journey in advance, on account of lodgings. They remained two days at Canterbury, as it was not weather to put to sea, and having arrived at Dover on the 2nd, all embarked and made a very rough passage. They landed at Calais at 2 p.m. The Imperial ambassadors, namely the Lord Chancellor, Monsieur de Berghes, and an abbot, with 100 horse, have already made their entry. The Frenchmen are to arrive after dinner. Cardinal Wolsey wishes to make peace between these two crowns, and if unable to do so, will see if he can stipulate a truce, though it is said that the Emperor, who would have consented to it before his recovery of Navarre, will not do so now. There are also difficulties about the marriage of the Emperor to the daughter of King Francis. It is supposed that, having taken

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Navarre, the Emperor will be content to surrender it toFrance. The pension for the kingdom of Naples, as it is a mere affair of money, will be quietly settled; with regard to the Neapolitan exiles, they will be allowed time, or their estates will be restored to them. Respecting the dependency of Flanders on the French crown, that will be counterbalanced by the investiture of Milan. There are, however, doubts of some secret understanding between the Pope and the Emperor, whereby the arrangement may be impeded.

Nothing is said of the Signory, except that they are reported to be French. Regrets not knowing how to act, as no letters from the State have reached him since the 22nd June. According to report, the truce will be stipulated. The Emperor, who would at first have agreed to one for eight months, seems now to reject the proposal, whereas King Francis is apparently willing to agree to it. The armies of the two sovereigns number some 50,000 men. The forces of the Emperor are very considerable. It is said he will go to Bruges, and should he not choose to assent to the truce, Cardinal Wolsey will perhaps go to see him, and receive presents and great honour. The Cardinal has already said that he means to go, as he is, it may be said, King. It is stated that King Francis will be content with the truce. At any rate, happen what may, the King of England does not desire war, remembering what the last one against France cost him, when he much diminished the treasure left by his father; nor is the country now in a very secure state, by reason of the Duke of Buckingham's plot.*

Calais, 3rd August. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 239.

279. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Today Cardinal Wolsey gave a dinner to the Imperial ambassadors, and also to him. Had visited the Emperor's Chancellor [Gattinara], having known him last year when King Henry was at Canterbury. Received good greeting from him. At table Cardinal Wolsey spoke against the King of France to the Imperial ambassadors, leaning rather towards the Emperor.

News had been received of the capture by a French ship of an Imperial vessel within the jurisdiction of England.† The Cardinal immediately sent off four English ships from Calais to give chase and seize it. Moreover, a Frenchman has been captured, who with a line and plummet purposed measuring the walls of the town [of Calais], much to the displeasure of the Cardinal.

Whilst with the Cardinal to-day, the French ambassadors, namely, the Chancellor [Duprat], Mons. la Palisse, and another,‡ made their entry into Calais. The Cardinal sent the Lord Chamberlain and two others to meet them; and they were treated with much respect. Went to visit them. The Chancellor gave assurance of the

* "Poi le cose per il trattato dil Ducha di Bochingen non è ben segure."

† At the mouth of the Thames. (See letter from Pace to Wolsey, 27th August 1521, "State Papers," vol. i., p. 36.)

‡ John de Selve, Premier President of the Parliament of Paris.

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goodwill which King Francis bore to the Signory, and promised to acquaint him (Surian) with the whole course of the negotiation.

Calais, 4th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. pp. 239-240.

280. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Today, having been summoned on behalf of Cardinal Wolsey, found his Lordship with the Papal Nuncio [Ghinucci] and the Imperial and the French ambassadors.

The Cardinal said he had been sent here by his King, who having heard of the disputes between his nephew the Emperor and his brother the King of France, desired him, Wolsey, as his lieutenant, to make peace between them.

The Papal Nuncio commended this proceeding, saying however, that he had no commission from the Pope, but would write to him, and was certain he would be very well satisfied.

On behalf of the Imperialists the Chancellor [Gattinara] spoke of the injuries inflicted on the Emperor's subjects by the King of France, and said he had caused Robert de la Marck to rebel against the Emperor, and taken from him the kingdom of Navarre,—though by the grace of God it had been recovered,—besides wronging him in other ways; wherefore the Emperor would neither make peace nor truce, but required the King of England to act against France as the violator of the articles of the peace, of which the Emperor would furnish proof.

The French ambassadors then replied, the sage Chancellor [Duprat] saying, in well chosen terms, that if Gattinara's sovereign wished for war, it should be waged upon him briskly; and that if he chose peace, King Francis desired it heartily. Duprat declared that with regard to his King having instigated the Emperor's subjects to rebel, no letter from the King of France to that effect could be produced. The Imperialists said they had the letters; and when Duprat asked to see them, they said they would show them to Cardinal Wolsey alone; which words the Cardinal did not relish.

Duprat then proceeded, and, speaking of Robert [de la Marck], he said it was not true that King Francis had incited him; and touching the kingdom of Navarre, he said the articles of the peace warranted its invasion. He then charged the Emperor with having stirred up the Milanese exiles against the King's duchy of Milan, and with having urged the Pope to absolve him from the oath and promise made to the King of France about the marriage. Moreover, the Emperor had not paid the three years' tribute for the kingdom of Naples, nor acknowledged the suzerainty for the counties of Flanders and Artois. He had also taken a castle of the King's on the borders, pretending it belonged to Robert de la Marck. The French Chancellor concluded by saying that the Emperor should have either peace or war at his option.

Cardinal Wolsey then said he wished a truce to be made between them as a preliminary to the negotiation of peace, and adjourned the conference.

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He (Surian) said nothing, because there was no time; nor would he have known how to reply, having received no orders from the Signory. Cardinal Wolsey is assuredly going to the Emperor.

Calais, 5th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 180.

281. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Having received four letters from the State, went first to Madame [Louise.] Found her talking with the English ambassador, who was urging her to induce the King assent to the truce, as the Emperor had done. She did not answer, as on former occasions, but said, "Let the truce be proposed at Calais, and an answer will be given."

Artoin [Autun?],* 5th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. pp. 239–240.

282. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Told by Cardinal Wolsey that the Signory had engaged Francesco Maria, the ex-Duke of Urbino, and the Pope would take it amiss and oppose the State. The Cardinal said this was not the moment to stir, and the Republic should desist from war.

Rejoined that the Pope was the cause of these wars, and prevented the Emperor from making peace. The French ambassadors are inclined to peace, and the Imperialists are not.

The Emperor's Chancellor [Gattinara] said that the Turks were under Belgrade.

Calais, 6th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 244.

283. The SAME to the SAME.

Cardinal Wolsey repeated what he had said relative to Francesco Maria, ex-Duke of Urbino. Replied he knew nothing, and that Francesco Maria della Rovere was a Venetian nobleman, and at liberty to reside in the Venetian territory, as the Signory gave refuge to all exile-grandees, as they did to Pope Leo and his brothers when their family was expelled from Florence; but believed it to be untrue that the Signory encouraged the Duke to make war on the Pope, and recover his duchy. The Cardinal remained satisfied, and then said that, as the Imperial ambassadors declared they had no mandate, he meant to go to Bruges, and, by speaking with the Emperor, to obtain power to make a truce, although the French do not choose to have one. As for the reported betrothal of the daughter of his King [to the Emperor?], he said it was untrue; and that the Emperor was in the right about this marriage [with France], as the French Princess was an infant, and the Emperor

* A letter from Sir William FitzWilliam of 6th August is dated at "Awcton." (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar.)

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chafed at having to wait for her, as he should be upwards of 30 years of age.*

The Cardinal is to depart on the 10th instant. The French ambassadors will remain at Calais until his return, which will not be delayed beyond ten days. Is in doubt whether to go with him or remain.

Calais, 8th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 53, St. Mark's Library.

284. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor quitted Ghent for Bruges on the 5th, but not by the direct road, stopping at several intermediate places to hawk and hunt. This evening he is to enter Bruges. Cardinal Wolsey will not come until Saturday. Does not know what business he transacted at the conference. Is told that Surian has crossed the Channel with the Cardinal.

Reported at Bruges that on the coast of England a French vessel had captured a Biscayan ship, which fact greatly displeased Cardinal Wolsey, who has sent four armed barks to seize the Frenchman.

Bruges, 7th August 1521.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Aug. 8. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 54, St. Mark's Library.

285. The SAME to the SAME.

Was told by the Nuncio that this morning the Emperor received letters from Calais, informing him that Cardinal Wolsey held a conference on the 6th with the Imperial and French ambassadors, there being likewise present the ambassadors from the Pope and the Signory. The Cardinal spoke much about peace between the two sovereigns. The Imperialists declared they had no commission concerning peace, alleging the injuries received by the Emperor from the King of France. The French ambassadors, on the other hand, defended the cause of their King, and stated that if the Emperor chose peace he would accept it willingly, but should the Emperor prefer war, the King of France would not fail to wage it vigorously. So nothing being settled, Cardinal Wolsey adjourned the meeting.

At Bruges the opinion is that the adjustment will not be effected, though it remains to witness the result of the visit of Cardinal Wolsey, for whose reception with honour preparations are already being made.

Bruges, 8th August 1521.

[*Italian,* 1½ *page.*]

Aug. 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 146.

286. NEWS from ENGLAND.

Memorandum by Sanuto.

This morning the letters received on the preceding evening from the ambassador in England, having been deciphered, were read in the Senate. Will give their summary hereafter. Cardinal

* "Dicendo di le noze si diceva tratava con la fiola dil suo Re, non è vero; e di tal noze l'Imperador a raxom, per esser quella di Franza puta; e l'Imperador stridò aspetarla, haria più di 30 anni."

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Wolsey was to cross the Channel, and Surian was making preparations to accompany him. From what Surian has heard, Cardinal Wolsey did not wish him to go.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8. **287.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 199.

King Francis informed him that Cardinal Wolsey had arrived at Calais, and that, on his conferring with the ambassadors, the Imperialists complained of his Majesty; whereupon the Cardinal told them that if they had no other commission it was a loss of time to meet at Calais. The King is of opinion that, should the agreement not be effected, the Cardinal will come to him.

Autun, 8th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th August.*

[*Italian, extract.*]

Aug. 8. **288.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 244.

Had conversed about Cardinal Wolsey's visit to Bruges with the French Chancellor [Duprat], who said that his own stay at Calais would be but little to the honour of his King, and that he would acquaint him (Surian) with everything, by reason of the friendship which King Francis bore the Signory.

Whilst writing received the Signory's letters, with the summaries of Hungarian news, and the letter from the King of Hungary to the King of England, which he delivered to Cardinal Wolsey, who expressed surprise at its being sent in such a way. Replied that he had been four years ambassador in Hungary, and therefore the King had chosen to make use of him. The Cardinal said he would forward the letter, and that he was intent on uniting the Christian powers, especially the Emperor and France, to accomplish which end he would even go so far as Rome.

Calais, 8th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. **289.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 55, St. Mark's Library.

Announces the receipt of letters from Surian, dated the 7th, concerning the conference held by Cardinal Wolsey with the Imperial and French ambassadors. Surian states that Cardinal Wolsey, perceiving how determined the Imperial ambassadors were to accept neither peace nor truce, and that they merely requested the King of England to declare himself in favour of the Emperor, expressed his regret at such firm persistence in war. Is therefore convinced that the Imperialists are not so sure of the treaty with England as they fancy themselves, according to his former announcement; and were it not for the constant pressure applied by the Pope, who urges the Emperor to war, he (Contarini) would entertain fair hopes of an adjustment between the two crowns [Imperial and French].

Bruges, 9th August 1522.

[*Italian, 1 page.*]

Aug. 9. **290.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 244.

Desired by Cardinal Wolsey to remain at Calais with the French ambassadors until his return from Bruges, where he hoped to make

* See Surian's letter to the Signory, 11th July 1521.

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a good arrangement. The Cardinal said he would there confer with the Signory's ambassador, and acquaint him with events. The French ambassadors intend going to Boulogne, and to remain there during this interval, of which the Cardinal is glad, being thus relieved from anxiety about leaving them in Calais with so considerable a number of horsemen as they had brought with them.

The Count of Cariati has arrived at Calais, and . . . . . ambassador from the Emperor, to accompany Cardinal Wolsey to Bruges, and two other great personages * have been sent to meet him on the road; so believes it had been arranged beforehand for him to go to Bruges. Perhaps the Emperor has acted thus on account of the Pope, to whom he is both strictly bound not to make terms with France, and has also promised Parma and Piacenza.

Calais, 9th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. **291.** The GOVERNORS of VERONA to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 172.

Have received advices from Antonazo of Perugia, Constable in the Castle of Trent, dated the 8th, giving an account of the infantry in readiness there, and stating that the agreement between the Emperor and the King of France would not be effected, although Cardinal Wolsey, the Lord Chancellor [Gattinara], and Mons. de Berghes were gone to Calais.

Verona, 10th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. **292.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 218.

King Francis has received letters from Calais, dated the 4th. Cardinal Wolsey and the Imperial ambassadors had arrived there. The Cardinal wishes to adjust these disputes, and the Emperor's ambassadors have done nothing but complain of King Francis.

Spoke to Madame, who said she should go to a distance of 15 leagues from Autun, and that the conference at Calais might produce some good effect, but they do not trust Cardinal Wolsey, because in the Emperor's camp the only current coin is the English "Angel."

Autom [Autun?], 10th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 10. **293.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 253.

News received by him from the Chancellor (*sic*) of England [Cuthbert Tunstall, Vice-Chancellor and Master of the Rolls], who said that Cardinal Wolsey understood the Imperialists had taken a castle belonging to Robert de la Mark, called Baiom (*sic*) [Bouillon], had crossed the Meuse, and were laying siege to another castle,† which was contrary to the articles of the seven weeks' truce, made

* Qu., the Archbishop of Palermo, and the Seigneur Traseignes. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. III., no. 1460.

† Mouzon? The capture of that place is mentioned in a letter of Wolsey's to Henry VIII., dated Calais, 30th August (see "State Papers," vol. I., p. 45).

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on account of the Cardinal's coming to Calais. Wolsey greatly resented its infringement, and had therefore renounced his journey to Bruges, and ordered the return of his baggage waggons, which had been already sent in advance; using strong language to the Emperor's ambassadors.

Understands, however, that Cardinal Wolsey spoke thus in order to render them better disposed towards the peace. It is said that, should the agreement not take place, the King of France will take the field in person and give battle. Hears that the Cardinal will nevertheless go to Bruges.

Calais, 10th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 56, St. Mark's Library.

294. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Last night Cardinal Wolsey lodged at a place called Beauport (Beoporto), six leagues distant hence. Today he will journey three leagues, and is to enter this city tomorrow with a retinue, I am told, of 1,050 horsemen.

Had discussed this visit with the Nuncio [Caracciolo], who is apprehensive lest some adjustment ensue, contrary to the wish of the Pope, who would fain see the war advance. The Pope complains vastly of the Emperor, having at his request declared against France,* and the Emperor is nevertheless slow to move in Italy. He remonstrates against the long delay of the Viceroy in joining the rest of the troops under Prospero Colonna.

Bruges, 13th August 1521.

[*Italian, 3 pages.*]

Aug. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 238.

295. GIOVANNI BADOER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

King Francis being absent, had audience of Madame [Louise], who spoke about the advices from Calais, telling him there were letters from the French delegates, who had demanded indemnity for expenses, to be paid by those who had infringed the articles, and that Cardinal Wolsey was going to the Emperor at Brussels.

Autun, 14th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Aug. 14–15. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 238.

296. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

Was told by King Francis he had heard from his ambassadors at Calais, who demanded payment of expenses by those had violated the articles of agreement; and that Cardinal Wolsey was going to Brussels to the Emperor. This news was confirmed by Madame on the authority of letters dated Calais, the 12th.

Autun, 14th and 15th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

* In a subsequent letter, No. 330, dated Madrid, 28 January 1525, it appears that the Emperor then declared that he entered on this war for the sake of Leo X., who was ruled by his prime minister and kinsman, Giulio de' Medici, afterwards Clement VII., to whom the Emperor sent a message to that effect.

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Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 245.

297. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

In conversation with [the French Secretary] Robertet, understood there were advices from the French ambassadors at Calais, stating that the Imperialists had no authority to negotiate peace, and that Cardinal Wolsey meant to go to the Emperor.

Autun, 16th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 57, St. Mark's Library.

298. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey entered this town on the 14th.

The Emperor with the whole court went to meet him outside the gates, and waited for him well nigh an hour and a half. On his arrival, at nearly 7 p.m., he did not dismount from his mule, but after raising his bonnet, he from saddle to saddle (*a cavalo a cavalo*) embraced the Emperor, who moreover did the like by the Cardinal, cap in hand. Having halted a short time, for the ambassadors and some of the chief personages of the court to kiss his hand, the Emperor proceeded into the town, the Cardinal being always beside him.

Omits particulars of the Cardinal's retinue, the number of his gentlemen and archer guard, all clad in a livery of red satin, as also of the English nobility, being certain that the State is already acquainted with them through the Ambassador Surian.

The Cardinal's lodging was prepared in the identical palace where the Emperor himself resides, and on arriving there the Emperor accompanied him even to the door of his apartment.

Yesterday morning the Emperor and the Cardinal, with their respective courts, and we ambassadors, all proceeded to mass at a church called "Our Lady's;" and at the Cardinal's stirrup were some twenty English gentlemen, all dressed in silk, and with gold chains round their necks.

Although two canopies had been prepared in the church, one for the Emperor and the other for the Cardinal, his Majesty chose him to take place under his own, sharing half the kneeling desk with him; and in like manner, on kissing the Gospel and the "Pax," the Emperor chose the Cardinal also to kiss them. When the mass ended, Wolsey gave the benediction from the high altar, as usual with legates.

On returning to the palace the Cardinal dined with the Emperor, and they afterwards withdrew together and remained in consultation well nigh two hours. Then the Cardinal, returning to his apartment, received a visit there from the Lady Margaret. Most evident marks were thus afforded of the very great honour which the Emperor wishes to pay the Cardinal, nor could more be expected.

Understands that the expenses both of the Cardinal and of his entire retinue, exceeding (as already stated) 1,050 horsemen, are defrayed by the Emperor, who thus chooses to reciprocate similar munificence displayed towards himself by the King of England on his landing there when he returned from Spain to Flanders.

This morning (the 16th) the Cardinal received a visit from the King of Denmark, who had not chosen to attend his entry. Has been told that they remained alone together for nearly half an hour; and

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that the Cardinal accompanied the King to the bottom of the stair, and no farther.*

On the preceding afternoon he (Contarini) sent his secretary to the Cardinal's court, to acquaint him with his wish to visit him on behalf of the Signory. The reply from one of his attendants purported that for that day there was no opportunity, as the Cardinal was expecting an interview with the Lady Margaret, which in fact took place, and that the secretary must return today, when the appointment should be made. So this morning he went accordingly, and received an apology on account of the audience of the King of Denmark; and on returning this afternoon they postponed him till tomorrow, as the Cardinal was about to confer with the Emperor. Has, therefore, not failed demonstrating his readiness to pay this compliment. Will, however, endeavour to obtain admission tomorrow, and address the Cardinal in such language as expedient at the present moment for the Signory's interests, understanding that he (Wolsey) has the management of everything in his hands.

Has been unable, down to the present time, to ascertain the nature of Cardinal Wolsey's discourse with the Emperor. In order to elicit something, went yesterday to the Nuncio [Caracciolo], and found him in a pensive mood. Was told by him that from the time Wolsey landed at Calais until now he the Cardinal had held daily private conferences with the Chancellor [Gattinara], "*solus cum solo*," but nothing important had been communicated to him. This disturbed the Nuncio not a little, he being apprehensive of some agreement between the Emperor and France, concerning which Surian had written that Cardinal Wolsey had told him he entertained fair hopes of accomplishing it.

These hopes were confirmed to him (Contarini) by one of Cardinal Wolsey's secretaries, named Peter Vannes, a Lucchese. Yesterday morning in the church was accosted by Vannes, who delivered the letter from Surian. Took Vannes to dine with him. In the course of conversation Vannes said, "These Flemings ask me whether my master is come to make war or peace, they being of opinion that his coming must encourage hostilities; at which I merely smile, knowing that Cardinal Wolsey seeks nothing but peace."

This statement was in accordance with reason, because Wolsey had made the French ambassadors remain at Calais.

Bruges, 16th August 1521.

[*Italian, 5 pages.*]

Aug. 17.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 58, St. Mark's Library.

299. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Has today made every possible effort to visit Cardinal Wolsey, but was unable to obtain audience, as the Cardinal has been occupied incessantly, both at his own council board, and also with the Emperor, with whom and with the Lady Margaret he has passed the whole day; and he is still with them, it being now 7h. 30m. p.m.

Is assured through several channels that the business which the Cardinal is negotiating with the Emperor merely relates to peace between France and the Emperor. The majority of the court is of

* For other particulars concerning this visit, see "State Papers," vol. I., p. 37.

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opinion that it will not be effected; and this opinion is shared by the Papal Nuncio, with whom he (Contarini) conversed today when accompanying the King of Denmark on his departure from Bruges. The Nuncio appeared to be in much better spirits than he was the day before yesterday. Can scarcely believe, however, that so great a personage as Cardinal Wolsey, after holding frequent conferences with the Chancellor on the subject at Calais, and proceeding thence to Bruges, would return *re infectâ*.

The Emperor's departure hence is announced for Monday. Doubts this, because Cardinal Wolsey's attendants say they do not know when he will move. Thinks the Emperor will precede him.

Bruges, 17th August 1521.

[*Italian*, 2¼ *pages*.]

Aug. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 297.

300. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

On the departure of Cardinal Wolsey for Bruges, he chose the French ambassadors and him (Surian) to remain at Calais until his return, and although he promised to send them frequent advices nothing has been heard since his departure. It is believed that the messengers are not allowed to pass Rovelim [Gravelines?]. A messenger whom Mons. de la Bastie, the French ambassador, sent to [from?] Calais was detained at the passes.

Was told by the Chancellor Duprat, that Robert de la Marck had made a truce for a week, and was at a place of his called Sédan, under which the Imperial forces were encamped, and that the most Christian King was sending Mons. de Mézières with a succour of 500 spears and 500 infantry. The Chancellor was not of opinion that a truce would be made.

Calais, 18th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 245.

301. Giovanni Badoer to the Doge and Signory.

Madame [Louise] told him there were letters from Calais, dated the 12th, that the Cardinal was going to Bruges.

Autun, 18th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th August.*

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Aug. 19. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 59, St. Mark's Library.

302. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Both yesterday and this morning endeavoured to obtain admission to Cardinal Wolsey, but failed in the attempt, as moreover was the the case with the Papal Nuncios [Caracciolo and Ghinucci], who, like himself, went to the Cardinal's lodgings for audience in vain.

Yesterday morning, when the Cardinal went forth to ride with the Emperor [to church?], presented himself, and announced his wish to pay his respects on behalf of the Signory. The Cardinal apologized for being unable to receive him, owing to a press of business, but appointed him this morning, the 19th, when the Cardinal excused himself from giving audience, as he must confer with the Emperor, and subsequently in the afternoon receive the Nuncios, with whom he expected to remain some while; so that he was compelled to defer the audience till tomorrow.

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Has solicited this visit both for the sake of keeping the Cardinal, who exercises such vast authority, well affected toward the State, and likewise for the sake of eliciting from him in the course of conversation something about the interminable consultations held by him with the Emperor. Concerning these consultations nothing authentic can be ascertained; but conjectures that they relate to this peace between the Emperor and France; although others are of a different opinion. At any rate, supposes the business negotiated between them has been already brought to some conclusion, because on the preceding morning, when in Cardinal Wolsey's antechamber, Peter Vannes said to him, "I can tell you nothing authentic; but last evening at half-past nine my master returned home in great glee from the Emperor, and was in good spirits the whole of that evening, which makes me augur well." Remarked also that on the same morning (the 18th) the Emperor's apparel was of gold brocade, a material which he (Contarini) had never hitherto seen him wear on the highest holydays;* Cardinal Wolsey being clad in crimson satin. Moreover, the church to which the Emperor went, was Saint James', a saint to whom his Majesty is especially devoted, he being prior of his order.† The ambassadors were invited to accompany him. The Emperor also had the mass of Holy the Ghost sung; and the celebration of that mass was remarked by the Nuncio, Caracciolo, who being his (Contarini's) neighbour at the ceremony, turned to him, and said, "*Domine orator*, did you attend to this mass?" Answered in the affirmative, adding that it was the mass of the Holy Ghost. Caracciolo rejoined, "These Imperialists have assuredly concluded the business;" and after many other remarks, said, "Did I not tell you at Ghent that an agreement and marriage were in course of negotiation between the King of England and the Emperor." Admitted this; and then Caracciolo continued, "I am of opinion that the treaty is now ratified, and thus" (to use the Nuncio's own phrase) "the French will find themselves without a leg to stand on‡." Replied that all this was possible, but that as the French ambassadors were at Calais, awaiting the result of this interview, it would seem strange should the Emperor and Cardinal Wolsey have formed such a resolve. Besides many other arguments in support of his surmise, Caracciolo said, "Similar practices are of frequent occurrence, and therefore your Signory would do wisely to act with reserve;" urging him (Contarini) by all means to take this course, as it would be much for the interest of the State to procrastinate with the French and gain time.

On coming away from the mass, invited an English gentleman, by name Master Thomas More, a very learned man,§ to dine with him. He had accompanied Cardinal Wolsey to Bruges. During

* By a letter from Wolsey to Henry VIII., dated Bruges, 19th August 1521 (State Papers, vol. i. pp. 38-40), it is seen that the "interminable consultations," between the Cardinal and the Emperor and the Lady Margaret related to the betrothal of the Emperor to the Princess Mary, so it may be inferred that for her sake he wore gold brocade on the on the 18th of August 1521.

† The order of Santiago de Compostella, founded 1170. The patron saint of the order of the Fleece was St. Andrew.

‡ "Et Francesi anderanno a gambe levate."

§ "Uno cavalier Englese molto litterato che se chiama messer Thoma Moro."

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dinner discussed the business negotiated by Wolsey with the Emperor, but More did not drop the slightest hint of any other treaty than that of peace between the King of France and his Imperial Majesty.

Finally, last evening visited the Emperor's confessor, and acquainted him with the siege of Belgrade by Sultan Solyman, saying that as Cardinal Wolsey was then at Bruges it would be a fitting moment to conclude a peace so important for the Christian commonwealth. Requested the confessor to exert himself, as he said at Ghent was his intention. The confessor replied that he would willingly speak to the Emperor and do his utmost, remarking that during the last few days his Majesty appeared to be less ardent for war than he had been previously, and was indeed very calm and tranquil.

The confessor also said that he had spoken with the chief confidants of Cardinal Wolsey, and understood him to be extremely intent on the conclusion of the peace.

Bruges, 19th August 1521.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Aug. 19. **303.** Venetian Embassy in England.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 203.

Motion made in the Senate for a letter of reply to the ambassador in England, to contradict the calumny reproaching the State with a wish for war; to proclaim their desire for peace; to thank the King for his regard for the Republic; to inform him that the Flanders galleys have already sailed, and to ask for the safeconduct.

Ayes, 197.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 19. **304.** The Doge and Senate to Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 19.

Perceive what had been said by the King and Cardinal about the disturbances of Italy, Wolsey apparently having blamed the Signory for assisting the most Christian King. Call God to witness how averse they are to war, not only in Italy, but throughout Christendom. When, some months ago, a league was being negotiated between the Pope, the King of France, and the Signory, the Cardinal considered that triple alliance likely to produce a bad effect on the Emperor, and therefore desired Surian to write in his name to them to delay for certain sage reasons.

The State then held his advice in great account, but now the Pope and the Emperor have leagued against the most Christian King, with whom the Signory is allied, as known to the whole world. They therefore could not fail to render such assistance as they were bound, although this was most burdensome, they still suffering from the inconveniences of the past war. Have not, however, failed to represent (and continue doing so) constantly to the Pope and to both their Majesties how earnestly the State wishes to see them at peace. Praise him (Surian) for what he said to the King and Cardinal about the desire of the State for tranquillity, and instruct him to exhort both one and the other to employ their authority to that effect, by

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means of which they hope for a good result. Trust the King and Cardinal will take this reply in good part.

To give assurance that the Signory will mediate for peace; to thank the King for having said that in any agreement between those sovereigns due regard would be had for the Republic; and to pay similar compliments to the Cardinal.

The Flanders galleys left Venice many days ago. Although the voyage may be made in safety throughout, are nevertheless grateful to the King for his gracious guarantee, and would take it as a great favour if he wrote to the Emperor in recommendation of the galleys, that they may be the more protected.

Touching Turkish affairs and the invasion of Hungary, would to God that they were not in reality such as described by them! But Cardinal Wolsey will have heard from every quarter that they have proved veracious intelligencers.

Ayes, 194. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 53 lines.*]

Aug. 20. **305.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 297.

A report circulated that Robert de la Marck had surrendered Sédan on condition that he and his wife and children were to be left free. The Chancellor Duprat said this report was untrue, and that the King of France was sending Mons. de Mézières to assist De la Marck. Also that the Emperor had 13,000 men with the Count of Nassau, and the other side numbered 17,000. That Cardinal Wolsey was returning to Calais, and that he (Duprat?) would be content to make a truce for 10 years, provided Navarre be restored to the King, or the same Prince of the blood (*Regulo*) be appointed king as before. He then said the King of France would have 30,000 men, viz., 1,400 spears, 4,000 light horse, and the band and rear band (*banda e rebanda*) of infantry; and that they, the four ambassadors, had written to the King advising him accordingly.

Calais, 20th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. **306.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 297.

Arrival here from Bruges of a messenger from the Cardinal, with letters of credence, namely, ... [Francis Bryan], gentleman of the King's chamber,* who told the French ambassadors they were not to be surprised at the Cardinal having so long delayed writing, as it was for the sake of [first] concluding the arrangement, which he hoped to accomplish; that he was returning to Calais with the Imperial ambassadors to discuss the matter; and that this disinclination on the part of the Emperor to make terms, and his demonstration of refusal, were for the purpose of previously levying certain moneys due to him from Flanders, Brabant, and Valois. He also mentioned the receipt of letters from the High Constable [Inigo de Velasco], an-

* "Maestro di camera del Re." Bryan is styled "gentleman of the King's Privy Chamber," and "cupbearer for the King," in Brewer's Calendar, Henry VIII., vol. II., no. 2735.

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nouncing that the commons of Castile had united against the Emperor.

Calais, 20th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 253.

307. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Told by Madame that Cardinal Wolsey was going from Calais to Bruges to the Emperor, and that the French ambassadors would remain at Boulogne, where they could await his return with greater honour.

Autun, 20th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 296.

308. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Master Bryan has apologized to the French ambassadors on behalf of the Cardinal, saying that he had not failed doing his utmost to effect the conclusion,* and was to depart on the 22nd for the purpose of returning to Calais with the Imperial ambassadors. The French ambassadors made answer to the Cardinal that they would wait for him. Bryan returns post to Bruges. He made his statement in the presence of the Treasurer of Calais [Sir William Sandys ?]. They then pressed Bryan to breakfast with them, in order to ascertain whether he had anything else to tell. Bryan said he had no farther communication to make.

Was told by the Chancellor [Duprat] that the King of Denmark sent to Cardinal Wolsey at Bruges, saying he was about to depart, and would be glad to speak to him. To this message the Cardinal made answer, that as the representative of the King of England, it did not seem to him decorous to pay the visit; so the King, without saying anything more to him, departed in great wrath. Thus the hatred between the Danes and the English will continue.†

Calais, 21st August. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 22. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 298.

309. The SAME to the SAME.

A messenger has arrived post from Bruges, sent to the King [Henry] by Cardinal Wolsey. He says an arrangement has been made, and that the Cardinal is coming to Calais with the Imperial ambassadors, who will be accompanied by the Count of Cariati.

The Governor of Boulogne [Anthony de la Fayette] has commenced making forays upon the Emperor's subjects, and has plundered them considerably, doing them great damage.

Has heard of the election of the second ambassador [by the Senate]; requests that he (the new ambassador) may be despatched and supplied with money, so that he (Surian) may return home; and for this favour he very earnestly prays.

Calais, 22nd August. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th September.*

[*Italian.*]

* By Hall's Chronicle it is seen that Francis Brian had in 1518–19 shown himself in favour of France.

† For Wolsey's own account of his interviews with the King of Denmark, both in the Emperor's garden at Bruges and at his own lodging, see "State Papers," vol. I., part 1., pp. 37, 38.

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Aug. 22.

310. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 60, St. Mark's Library.

Today dined with the Imperial Chancellor, Gattinara, who told him that Cardinal Wolsey wanted to make peace between the two crowns, but that the Emperor rejected it, unless the King of France made compensation for damages and costs, with certain other conditions, the latter having violated the confederacy by commencing hostilities. The Emperor therefore charged Cardinal Wolsey to require the King of England to declare for him, *juxta formam fœderis*, and the Cardinal, on the other hand, alleged a variety of reasons, saying at length, that as both parties considered themselves in the right, it was necessary to make a truce, so as to afford time for sifting the matter. This truce was rejected by the Emperor, who said it was notorious that France had been the first to break the confederacy, and he had already incurred the expense of a war.

Told the Chancellor that it seemed strange to many people for so great a personage, after negotiating the business during some days at Calais, to come to Bruges, and depart thence *re infectâ*. The Chancellor replied, "I will tell you; this man (*costui*, Wolsey) expected to find the Emperor a lad in leading strings, as he was under Monsieur de Chièvres, but discovers him to be of a different disposition."

In rejoinder to his (Contarini's) arguments in favour of peace, the Chancellor said, "In truth this outrageous presumption on the part of the King of France is owing exclusively to the desire for peace entertained by the Emperor and Mons. de Chièvres, which was carried to such an extent that it subjected the Emperor to the contumely of the King of France; so that for the present there will be neither peace nor truce, unless the French come with some other terms."

Has heard from another quarter likewise that there would be neither peace nor truce, and the Papal Nuncio dropped a hint that the King of England would at length declare himself in favour of the Emperor.

This affair has been treated solely by the following four individuals, namely, the Emperor, Cardinal Wolsey, the Lady Margaret, and the Chancellor Gattinara; so that to come at the truth is well nigh impossible, though it is true that after the first few days the Papal Nuncios [Caracciolo and Ghinucci] held long conferences both with the Cardinal and the Emperor.

Bruges, 22nd August 1521.

[*Italian*, 5½ *pages.*]

Aug. 23.

311. The STATE to ANTONIO SURIAN.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 258.

Desiring him to assist Hironimo da Molin, who is going to England for the recovery of a debt due to him from Antonio Bavarin.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24.

312. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book,

The negotiations between the Emperor and Cardinal Wolsey are discussed most secretly. The conferences have been held by the

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Letter no. 61, St. Mark's Library.

Emperor, Cardinal Wolsey, the Lady Margaret, and the Chancellor without the intervention of any other personages, although for the last four days the negotiations seem to have been communicated to the two Nuncios, who, both yesterday and today, attended the consultations. Believes (his news coming from the house of one of the Nuncios) that Cardinal Wolsey has been most urgent for peace between the Emperor and France, but the Emperor declined the proposals, telling the Cardinal that the Pope, whom he could not disappoint, was the person who rejected both peace and truce; which I believe is the truth. Caracciolo, the Nuncio resident with the Emperor, rather resented this, but nevertheless boldly affirmed the like to Cardinal Wolsey, assigning various reasons, especially that the Pope (at whose request many persons in the Milanese had shown themselves hostile to the French) would not permit the ruin of his partisans.

This plan being thus disapproved, another project was then devised for bringing over the King of England to the Emperor's side. Is assured that articles have been drawn up, but has not been able to learn their substance; though the Nuncios received a copy of them, which they are to forward to Rome by a special messenger.

This much he has been able to elicit from a sure quarter, but the rumours current in the Court are various. Some say the war will continue, whilst others anticipate an adjustment, basing their expectations on the stay of the French ambassadors at Calais —an inference which does not appear unreasonable, unless Cardinal Wolsey means to deceive France entirely, though the French are doubtless on the watch for information concerning these proceedings, and are perhaps better acquainted with them than he (Contarini), for he is at present shunned well nigh by everybody, because the State adheres to France; so that with regard to the news of the Imperial Court he remains as it were on the scent (*tanquam nares ad cibum*).

At length, on the day before yesterday, obtained audience of Cardinal Wolsey, and paid him such compliments in the Signory's name as were required by his rank and authority and the nature of the present times, assuring him of the faith and confidence reposed in him by the State, by reason of his good offices in favour of Venice.

The Cardinal apologized for not having admitted him sooner, on account of his daily conferences with the Emperor, declared himself well affected towards the State, and said he wished to speak to him about matters of interest for Venice, desiring him to come on the morrow. Went accordingly, and was told by Wolsey that the moment was not opportune, and that he was not to take the trouble of returning, as he (Wolsey) would send for him.

The Cardinal was to have departed today, and his baggage waggons are already prepared, but he will possibly remain until Monday.

Bruges, 24th August 1521.

[*Italian, 5 pages.*]

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Aug. 24.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 62, St. Mark's Library.

313. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Had received a visit from the same individual who communicated to him the treaty between the Pope and the Emperor. Considers this intelligencer trustworthy. Speaking with him about these protracted conferences between the Emperor and Cardinal Wolsey, inquired what his visitor knew about them. He answered, "Magnifico ambassador, I am aware of your anxiety for peace, but declare, under oath, the information having reached me from a good quarter,"—(suspects that "quarter" is none other than the secretary of the Nuncio Caracciolo,)—"that in these negotiations for peace there was a question of the Signory's territories, nor could it have been effected otherwise than to the detriment of the State." He then gave him (Contarini) to understand that the King of France, by means of Cardinal Wolsey, offered the Emperor, if he would come to an agreement with him, his assistance for the recovery of the Imperial fiefs in Italy, including even those occupied by the Signory; but the Emperor, choosing to abide by his promise to the Pope, rejected all these offers, and determined for the present to have neither peace nor truce with France. His visitor added other particulars about the language used by the Nuncio to Cardinal Wolsey on this occasian; so he (Contarini) thought fit, when with the Chancellor Gattinara, to sound him on the subject, saying, in the course of conversation, that the State could not break faith with France, having no occasion or cause for doing so; which opinion he repeated twice; but neither by word nor gesture did the Chancellor contradict him, or imply that the intention of the King of France was at variance with his belief. Leaves the State to form its own conclusions.

Bruges, 24th August 1521.

[*Italian*, 1¼ *page.*]

Aug. 25.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 333.

314. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The King of France has recalled Mons. de la Palisse, one of his ambassadors at Calais. Is told by the Chancellor [Duprat] that the King is at Troyes, in Champagne, and means to give battle to the Emperor, whose forces have had time to muster by reason of the six weeks' truce made by Robert de la Marck, who had not accepted the French succour of 500 spears and 300 infantry under Mons. de Naxares [*sic*, Mézières], as he did not trust the King. The Pope and the Emperor are at strife, because the Tyrolese infantry have not been sent into Italy.

Cardinal Wolsey has not quitted Bruges, so we remain in suspense.

Calais, 25th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter No. 63, St. Mark's Library.

315. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 24th the Chancellor remained closeted with the English privy counsellors who accompanied Cardinal Wolsey to Bruges until 9 p.m. Was therefore unable to see him until the 25th. During his visit the Emperor's late Audiencier [Philip Haneton], who had been sent to England from Brussels, and was now returned, pre-

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sented himself to the Chancellor,[1] who gave the Audiencier certain articles of agreement. From afar cast his eye slyly and read the commencement thus, "*In nomine Domini*;" and, as they were turning over the pages or sheets together, saw that each sheet was numbered, and that the last was either 13 or 14. Then commenced talking with the Chancellor about Wolsey's negotiations, and was told by him that the Cardinal had proposed various forms and conditions of peace. Is at a loss to form any opinion. On the one hand, everybody says the war will continue. On the other, the interminable conferences, attended by so great a personage as the Cardinal, incline him to believe in some adjustment; and supposing that adjustment to be prejudicial to France, as reported, it would be unreasonable for the Cardinal to detain the French ambassadors at Calais. Knows that they are well informed, but gives no opinion with regard to their having made no communication to Surian.

Cardinal Wolsey is to quit Bruges this afternoon, but has not sent for him according to promise. The Chancellor is to accompany Wolsey to Calais.

Bruges, 26th August 1521.

[*Italian*, 2½ *pages*.]

Aug. 26. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 64, St. Mark's Library.

316. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

As Cardinal Wolsey was to quit Bruges this afternoon, determined to accompany him some two or three miles beyond the town, for the payment of such compliments as might prove advantageous for the State, and also in the hope of eliciting something from him on the road.

The Emperor escorted the Cardinal outside the gates of Bruges; and then, after embracing him, proceeded on his way to a villa four leagues distant.

Having followed Wolsey and paid the usual compliments, told him how much the State desired the conclusion of the peace, and how much reliance it placed on the Cardinal, being aware that he had the interests of the Signory at heart.

The Cardinal replied that his King's intention and his own were to make this peace, for which purpose he had crossed the Channel and come to Bruges, where he encountered very great difficulties both on one side and the other, but above all the Pope's affairs had embarrassed him extremely, the Emperor having made his Holiness a variety of promises The Cardinal then added that matters had nevertheless been brought to a good pass, and that the Chancellor and some other Imperial ambassadors were accompanying him to Calais with a commission which they lacked at the first conference, when, in fact, they had none whatever, and that he trusted the conclusion would be effected, as he should consider it a great disgrace for his King and himself if he had to return *re infectâ*. The Cardinal desired him to write to the State, to abstain from showing more favour to one side than to the other, lest the negotiations be thus rendered more difficult.

Returned thanks for the communication, saying the State had hitherto done its utmost in aid of a result so desirable for Christendom, and would not fail to persevere in the same course. Having

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said this, the Cardinal did not choose him to proceed farther: so took leave.

Bruges, 26th August 1521.

[*Italian*, 1 *page*.]

Aug. 27. **317.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 296.

King Francis told him he had received letters from Calais, from the Chancellor [Duprat], to whom he wrote desiring him not to make any farther agreement, save on the following terms:—

The Emperor not to come with an army into Italy; and to make terms with the Signory. To do homage to him for Flanders; pay him the arrears of tribute due for the kingdom of Naples; and restore the kingdom of Navarre.

Siamburn [Sombernon ?], 27th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th September.*

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 27. **318.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 333.

Departure of Cardinal Wolsey from Bruges on the 26th. He will arrive at Calais on the 28th.

Calais, 27th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th September.*

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 28. **319.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 333.

The French ambassadors, perceiving that Cardinal Wolsey did not make his appearance, wrote to him that he delayed extremely, and that their stay at Calais was dishonorable for the King of France. So the Cardinal sent the Master of the Horse of the King of England [Sir Henry Guylford ?],*—who arrived at Calais on the evening of the 27th,—to tell them that he had intended to quit Bruges on the 22nd, but the Papal Nuncio complained to the Emperor that the King of England was not at liberty to negotiate any agreement without the consent of the Pope, who knew nothing of these negotiations. On this account Cardinal Wolsey postponed his departure, and remonstrated with the Emperor, saying the Emperor either held the Pope in greater account than his King, or else had greater regard for the King of England than for his Holiness.† At length the Emperor sent his ambassadors with the Cardinal, namely, the Chancellor [Gattinara], the Count of Cariati in lieu of Mons. de Berghes, and a bishop‡ in the stead of the Auditor [Haneton]. Cardinal Wolsey is somewhat indisposed, and travels in a litter. He is to arrive at Calais on the 29th. The coming of the Count of Cariati is not a good sign.§ The Imperial forces are continuing their attack on France at a place

* In the original "*Gran Scudier*." Possibly the person meant was the Lord Chamberlain, Charles Earl of Worcester. See "State Papers," vol. I. p. 29, letter from Wolsey to Henry VIII., date Calais, 4th August. In the Italian accounts of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, "*Gran Scudier*" certainly signifies Master of the Horse.

† The words in the original are, "e si dolse con l'Imperador di questo, dicendo ò soa Maiestà ferà più caxo dil Papa che dil suo Re, ò dil suo Re chè dil Papa."

‡ Bernard de Mesa, Bishop of Badajoz. See Surian's next letter.

§ Concerning Giambatista Spinelli, Count of Cariati, who was a staunch Imperialist, and had been diplomatically employed by the Emperor Maximilian, see Mr. Brewer's Calendars, 1509–1523.

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called Mouzon; yet there will be this advantage, that should Cardinal Wolsey fail to make the agreement, the King of England will either take part with the King of France, or not be opposed to him; so that much will have been gained by Wolsey's coming to Calais.

Calais, 28th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th September.* [*Italian.*]

Aug. 29. **320.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 334.

Today, at 5 p.m. (*sic*), Cardinal Wolsey arrived at Calais. He was visited by the French ambassadors, to whom he said he had found the Emperor very obdurate, but had so pressed him, that at length he said he could do nothing because he had made an agreement with the Pope. Thereupon the Cardinal was obliged, as Legate, to promise the Emperor that the Pope should be satisfied with the convention that would be made; and he also promised [the like] for the most Christian King. He acted in such wise that the Pope will send the mandate of ratification. Tomorrow [the 30th of August] a mass of the Holy Ghost is to be celebrated, and daily at 2 p.m., they [the ambassadors] are to assemble at the Conference, to try and conclude this agreement.

The Imperial ambassadors who accompanied Cardinal Wolsey were the Chancellor [Gattinara], the Count of Cariati, the Bishop of Badajoz, Dom. Sigismondo de ———, of the kingdom of Naples, and another doctor, by name ———.

Yesterday morning was told by Chancellor Duprat that some letters had been intercepted, written by the Pope to the Emperor, complaining that the latter had not sent the lansquenets who were at Trent to the army, and lamenting that he himself had declared against the King of France, as he was apprehensive of becoming an insignificant priest.* Duprat said he believed that Marc'Antonio Colonna, who had arrived at the French Court from Rome, had made some communication on behalf of the Pope.

Calais, 29th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th September.* [*Italian.*]

Aug. 30. **321.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 334.

Today the Conference assembled at 2 p.m., namely, Cardinal Wolsey, the Papal Nuncio [Ghinucci], the Imperial and French ambassadors, and himself (Surian). The Cardinal commenced by telling the ambassadors he had been much honoured by the Emperor, and had experienced great difficulty in forming any agreement, by reason of the oath made to the Pope by the Emperor, that he would not negotiate any agreement with the most Christian King; so, for the sake of conferring so great a benefit on Christendom, he promised, in the name of the Pope, and also on behalf of the most Christian King, that they would ratify, &c.; adding other words in favour of some agreement. Chancellor Duprat answered him, that the Pope was in the wrong, having no cause to be opposed to his King, and that his Holiness had been the person who sought to deprive him of the duchy of Milan.

* "Dubitando diventar minimo prete."

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Among the Imperial ambassadors is Mons. de Roeux, and Mons. de la Guiche and Mons. Poillot are the leaders of this conference [on the French side].

Cardinal Wolsey then made four demands—first, that the English* fishermen should be allowed to fish in the French waters, so that fish might be provided for so large an assembly; secondly, that the vessels of both parties in English ports should not be molested; thirdly, that in Picardy, &c. no forays should be made; fourthly, that the couriers should be allowed to pass free, and the places be appointed (*sic*). All these demands were conceded by the French ambassadors.

Calais, 30th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. **322.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 335.

Mouzon has been taken by the Imperialists, and the garrison marched out with white sticks in their hands, which was a mark of their having surrendered. The Chancellor [Duprat] said that the King of France will have the Governor of Mouzon beheaded, he having surrendered the place because he was the kinsman of the Count of Nassau.

Is told by Cardinal Wolsey the King of France has no money.

Calais, 1st September. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. **323.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 358.

Today Cardinal Wolsey and all the ambassadors assembled at the Conference.† After discussing the four proposals made by him about the Flemish‡ fishermen, the forays, provisions, the prohibition against seizing ships in port, &c., the ambassadors took time to answer him. Some words then passed about deciding who was to speak first, and Cardinal Wolsey determined that the Frenchmen were to commence.

Thereupon the Chancellor [Duprat] accused the Emperor of having infringed his agreement to marry Madame Charlotte, the daughter of the King of France, by endeavouring to make a marriage with others, and to obtain a dispensation accordingly from the Pope. Moreover, that the Emperor had not given the kingdom of Navarre to Don Henri d'Albret, to whom it by right belongs, in conformity with the stipulation made at La Diense [Liege?].§ That he had not paid the 100,000 ducats per annum for the kingdom of Naples; had not done homage to the King of France for Flanders and Artois; had given harbour to the enemies of France, namely, the

* "Flemish," in Surian's letter of the 2nd September.

† "*Dieta*," in the original. Wolsey also used the word "Dyet" in a letter to the King. (See "State Papers," I. 55; 15th September 1521.)

‡ "English," in Surian's letter of 29th August.

§ Qu. Leodium (Leodiensis), *i.e.*, Liege? Varillas wrote that the treaty of Noyon was followed by another secret treaty. The fact is denied by Pere Daniel and Amelot de la Houssaie. To me it seems probable that this supplementary treaty was signed at Liege, and that Duprat quoted it to Cardinal Wolsey at Calais in September 1521.

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Cardinal of Sion and the Duke of Bari [Francesco Maria Sforza], who are kindling war against King Francis; had sent an envoy to defy the King; and that he had also taken the castle of Mensancourt (*sic*),* and lately Mouzon. Cardinal Wolsey therefore should declare that the Emperor had been the first aggressor, and condemn him to indemnify King Francis for his expenses, according to the articles of the treaty of Noyon and Lodiense [Liege ?].

The Imperial Chancellor [Gattinara] answered charge by charge. First, that the marriage was not binding, because it was contracted with the deceased Madame Louise, or with her sister, who is still alive; but that the present Princess was born subsequently.

To this point Cardinal Wolsey also replied, that the Emperor had never asked him for the daughter of his King, as she was promised to the most Christian King.†

Touching the kingdom of Navarre [Gattinara said ?] that it would be requisite to ascertain whether it belonged juridically to Albret, as the articles purported. That with regard to the tribute for the kingdom of Naples, the Emperor owed nothing to the King of France, Naples having been given as dower to King Ferdinand [the Catholic] for his French wife, the kinswoman of the King of France, and the Emperor was King Ferdinand's heir. That the Emperor had not done homage because none was due; whilst on the other hand the King of France had omitted to tender homage for the duchy of Milan. Gattinara denied that the Emperor had favoured the enemies of the King of France, or sent to defy him, though the King of France had assuredly been the first aggressor. He said that the captured castle was the Emperor's own; that as to his recalling the Switzers from the service of France, they were his subjects; that the castle of Messancourt, taken by him, had belonged to the late Duke Charles [of Burgundy], his predecessor; and, respecting the homage, that it had been rendered since the reign of Philippe le Hardi [1270 to 1285], but not previously.

The Conference then adjourned.

Calais, 2nd September. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 359.

324. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

The Count of Cariati has circulated a report that the 600 lansquenets on their march from Trent towards the Papal camp had passed, the Signory having allowed them to do so to oblige the Pope and the Emperor, with whom the State has a good understanding. The Chancellor Duprat was much perplexed by this. Assured him of the goodwill borne by the Signory to France. News of the loss of Mouzon. The King of France is in need of money. The French have routed the 300 men-at-arms.

Calais, 2nd September. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd September.*

[*Italian.*]

* Messancourt. (See Père Daniel, vol. IX. p. 101.)

† In date Bruges, 19th August 1521, Wolsey wrote to Henry VIII., giving account of his negotiations for the marriage of the Princess Mary to the Emperor. (See "State Papers," vol. I. p. 89.)

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Sept. 5. **325.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 359. The Conference (*dieta*) has sat during the last three days. Today the matters already proposed were discussed. Cardinal Wolsey told him that the French ambassadors had consented to the truce, and that the agreement would not take place on account of the Pope. Letters received here from the King of France give notice that the Duke of Alençon had inspected 15,000 Switzers, and the Constable [the Duke of Bourbon] 10,000 lansquenets, so that the King has now a powerful army.

Calais, 5th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. **326.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 360. Details what was said in the Conference on the preceding day by the French Chancellor, Duprat, and by the Imperial Chancellor, Gattinara. In conclusion Cardinal Wolsey said that they should not dispute who had been the first aggressor, but consult respecting the difficulties. It has accordingly been arranged to commence this question on Monday.

Calais, 7th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. **327.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 360. Yesterday in the Conference the Count of Cariati spoke to him about the 6,000 lansquenets, and asserted that the march took place by consent of the Signory. Replied that the State would never desert the King of France, and that they had not passed by the will of the Signory.

(Note by Sanuto, that the Senate did not approve of Surian's having said so much.)

Cardinal Wolsey spoke to him subsequently, and commended the State for having allowed those lansquenets to pass. Replied that if they had passed it was against the Signory's will. The Cardinal then said he should try to stipulate a truce for some time, as the agreement would be difficult on account of the Pope. The French ambassadors apparently now consent to it, but the Imperialists refuse. Wolsey, however, hopes it will be accomplished.

The Imperial Chancellor told Cardinal Wolsey he had received letters of recall from the Emperor, and therefore departs tomorrow. The French Chancellor wished also to do the like, but the Cardinal chose him to remain, as well as the other Imperialists, to negotiate the truce.

Gives an account of the attack on Ardres by the Imperial troops. The captain of Boulogne marched with forces and relieved it.

Calais, 7th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7. **328.** The DOGE and SENATE to GASPARO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 26, tergo. On the day before yesterday received his letters of the 22nd and 24th August, announcing the receipt of their reply to the Emperor's demand for the passage of 6,000 infantry.

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The Pope had complained to the King of England of their favorable reception of Francesco Maria della Rovere. Their ambassador in England having written this, they answered that after the Marquis of Mantua was taken into the Pope's pay, Francesco Maria, not considering himself safe in that city, retired to Verona, as to a free town, and being a Venetian nobleman the Signory did not think proper to dismiss him, but he received neither favour nor pecuniary assistance, nor any military commission. Whilst residing in Venetian towns the Pope may consider him in the Roman States, by reason of the filial respect borne towards his Holiness by the Signory, who will never cause any revolution or disturbance. As the Emperor may allude to the same subject, desire him to reply in conformity with what they wrote to England.

Ayes, 155. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

[Sept. 8?] [Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 371.]

329. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Announces what they had discussed in the conferences (*diete*), and that they talked of making a truce. Cardinal Wolsey is ill. Notifies the loss of Ardres, and how it occurred. Conversations held by him with the French Chancellor, who said that should the Imperialists choose to make the truce and include the Signory, exacting the same sum annually as paid at present, it would be well for him (Surian) to have instructions on the subject.

Undated. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 376.

330. The Same to the Same.

Conversations held by him with the Chancellor Duprat. Apprehends that should the truce be effected, the Imperialists will not include the Signory, unless the annual payment of 20,000 ducats be made. Reminds the State of the terms stipulated by the former quinquennial league, and therefore requests instructions in this present matter.

Chancellor Duprat told him the agreement would not take place, for three reasons: 1st, the Pope is opposed to it; 2ndly, the King of France has incurred the expense [of military preparations], and will not choose to desist now for a truce; 3rdly, his Majesty would be angered by the loss of Mouzon, and desire to avenge it.

Has received the Signory's letters of the 26th August. The State was publicly reported to have allowed the 6,000 lansquenets to pass, and to have an understanding with the Pope and the Emperor; yet the French ambassadors have shown no signs of believing this.

The Imperial forces went to Ardres 1,500 strong. The place was garrisoned by 250 infantry, who, with the reinforcement sent to them by the captain of Boulogne, defended themselves, and killed some of the Imperialists, amongst whom was a captain.

A captain of three French ships has captured an Antwerp vessel on its homeward voyage, freighted with martens and sables [fur?]

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to the amount of 50,000 ducats. The captain of Boulogne wrote to the [French] ambassadors [at Calais?] that the King of England was fitting out a fleet, destined for the French coast, in favour of the Emperor. Of this Cardinal Wolsey complained, saying it was untrue that his King showed himself in favour of one side or the other. It seems that the captain of Boulogne has also written that the Imperialists mean to seize Tournai.

Calais, 9th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. **331.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter No. 71, St. Mark's Library.

Has been told by the Hungarian ambassador, that he is going to Calais to speak to Cardinal Wolsey, and represent to him the vast detriment which the Christian commonwealth would incur through the loss of that kingdom [Hungary] and its seizure by the Infidel, endeavouring to induce Wolsey to adjust matters between Christians, in order that they may turn their weapons against the Turks.

Understands on good authority that three ships freighted with powder and ball, sent by the King of England to the Emperor, arrived at Antwerp four days ago.

This morning, the Imperial postmaster delivered to him a packet from the ambassador Surian, open, and merely containing two blank sheets; and a second cover likewise, also in the hand of [Surian's] secretary, addressed to Bonvisi at Lyons.

Infers that the letters, both private and public, for himself and for the State, have been detained, the covers alone being forwarded.

Brussels, 9th September 1521.

[*Italian, 3¾ pages.*]

Sept. 9. **332.** ALVISE GRADENIGO to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 322.

Told by the Pope that he had received letters from Bruges purporting that Cardinal Wolsey had made his entry with great honour. The Emperor went to meet him, and accompanied him to his dwelling. The marriage in course of negotiation between the Emperor and the daughter of the King of England will take place. The parties [the Pope, the Emperor, and Henry VIII.] will also re-constitute the league made between them.

Rome, 9th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9. **333.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi, p. 346.

Was told today by King Francis that the Cardinal at Calais was excellently disposed to make peace. Mons. de la Palice, who has come from Calais, dissuades the King from joining the camp at present, and Mons. d'Aubigni and other commanders did the like, so that he will not go.

Troyes, 9th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th September.*

[*Extract, Italian.*]

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Sept. 10. **334.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 377.

Yesterday the third conference was held. The Imperialists read two intercepted letters, one dated the 19th of July from the King of France to the Pope, the other addressed to his most Christian Majesty by Mons. de Lautrec. The entire letters, however, were not read, but only certain paragraphs,—to show that the most Christian King had been the first aggressor,—desiring to make a league with the Pope, and confessing that he had given assistance to Robert de la Marck.

The French Chancellor [Duprat] replied that these letters were written after the defiance sent by the Emperor to the King.

The Imperialists also said that the Signory had violated the articles of agreement; whereupon Cardinal Wolsey rejoined that all had infringed the treaty, and that nothing must be said about first aggressors. He (Surian) stated the arguments in favour of the Signory, and the Imperial Chancellor answered in opposition to the State.

The conference then adjourned until Thursday. This was done, it is supposed, to gain time, the Imperialists expecting some letter.

Sends a letter to the Signory from the King of England, congratulating the Doge on his creation.* Secretary Pace wrote a letter to him (Surian), of which he sends a copy, purporting that the Signory's letter to the King was very dry, and that Cardinal Wolsey moreover wished a letter had been written to himself.

Ardres has been taken by the Imperialists.

Calais, 10th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th September.*

Note by Sanuto.—The letter from Pace to Surian was in Latin, and dated Guildford, the 1st of September. Pace writes that the Signory's letter was very dry, and not such as written to the King heretofore; that it lacks the "*Vale,*" and that the Venetian secretaries do not choose to say "*Valete;*" so Pace sealed with the same seal as appended to the said missive (from the King).†

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 11. **335.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 377.

Today the fourth diet assembled. The [Imperial] demands were repeated, and the Emperor's ambassadors declared that the King of France had given assistance to Robert de la Marck, and allowed his son Fleuranges‡ to raise troops in Paris. Chancellor Duprat replied that this was contrary to the will of the King, and without his knowledge, and that on hearing of it he issued a proclamation forbidding any one to join under very heavy penalties. The Imperialists also spoke about the marriage, and the kingdom of Navarre; and said that according to the articles of agreement they were allowed six months'

* The election of Doge Antonio Grimani on the 6th of July 1521 is described in Sanuto's Diaries, vol. xxx. p. 330.

† "Scrive in la lettera di la Signoria, è sta molto ieiuna, et non come si ha scrito al Re altre volte, et mancha il '*vale*,' et li secretarij Veneti non vol dir '*valete*,' etc., perho lui a bolà con el bollo ha ditta lettera, etc."

‡ The eldest son of Robert de la Marck was married to Madame de Fleuranges. (See Père Daniel, vol. ix. p. 104.)

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time wherein to restore the kingdom of Navarre to Dom. Henri d'Albret, who, however, had no right, and whose claims must be investigated by the Emperor according to the articles stipulated. The Frenchmen, namely the Chancellor and the President of Paris [Jean de Selve], answered sagely. Then the English Bishop of Ely [Nicholas West] spoke in lieu of Cardinal Wolsey, who for the last three days has been ill of fever, having had two fits, and he is expecting the third tomorrow. They then adjourned the conference.

Has received the Signory's letters of the 24th and 26th August, and will comply with their contents when able to speak with Cardinal Wolsey, who suspects he has been poisoned, and is afraid of his malady.*

Calais, 11th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th September.*

[*Italian.*]

[Sept. 15?] **336.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 6.

Cardinal Wolsey is still indisposed. The armies of the Emperor and of France have each taken a castle.

The Cardinal may be pronounced convalescent, and hopes to adjust matters if the two crowns will make truce, but waits to hear the result of the affairs of Italy.

Calais, ———. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 15. **337.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 375.

Has received orders from King Francis to join him at Rheims. Was told by Madame, that she had heard from Calais that the Chancellor Duprat would soon return. She confirmed the news of the capture of Ardres, and said the King of England was the cause, as he would neither allow the place to be fortified, nor even let the French make the moats.†

Troyes, 15th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 26th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18. **338.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 72, St. Mark's Library.

Details a long controversy held by him with the Bishop of Palencia, concerning the ties by which the Signory was bound to the Emperor and to France.

The Bishop inquired, "Is not Venice a party to the treaty of London,‡ which the King of France was the first to violate? Are you not bound to oppose him?"

Replied that the treaty of London was general, whereas the one between the Signory and the King of France was special, and speciality invalidates generality. Moreover, the Signory was not a chief party to the treaty of London, but merely named by the principals, among whom was the King of England, who did not

* "Et teme il suo mal."

† The capture of Ardres is also mentioned by Gasparo Contarini, date 16th September, but it is not alluded to in Wolsey's correspondence, "State Papers," vol. I., nor yet by Père Daniel.

‡ 19–20 October 1518.

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consider it clear who was the first infringer of that treaty, and the affair was then being discussed at Calais. No one could blame the Signory.

Brussels, 18th September 1521.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22. **339.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 74, St. Mark's Library.

The Bishop of Palencia showed his (Contarini's) secretary a letter from the Chancellor [Gattinara] at Calais, to the effect that the packet from the ambassador Surian, which was opened, two blank sheets being alone transmitted, had been consigned to the royal postmaster of England, so that the Emperor's officials had committed no fraud. The Bishop added that the Chancellor offered to forward Surian's letters in safety. Had received a similar announcement from Surian himself.

Brussels, 20th September 1521.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Sept. 26. **340.** The SAME to the SAME.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 76, St. Mark's Library.

On the evening before last, among the viands placed on the Emperor's table was a dish of meat dressed to his taste, but of which he did not partake. When brought to the table of those who eat the remains of his Majesty's meals, this meat was found to contain a small bladder filled with powder, hair, and other mixtures; so his cook and three others have been arrested to ascertain the author of this artifice. Some persons maintain that these rascally ingredients (*simel ribaldarie*) were inserted for the purpose of poisoning his Majesty, but others pronounce them to be some love charm.

Spoke with the Emperor's physician, Master Liberal,* who told him he was unable to ascertain what these ingredients were, though he rather agreed with those who considered them a philter than with those who were suspicious of poison, but endeavours would be made to come at the truth. Will acquaint the State with the result.

Nothing more has been heard from Calais, save that they were debating "*de ruptura fœderis.*" Believes that the King of England is awaiting some event, most especially in Italy; and that thereby he will regulate his policy.

Brussels, 26th September 1521.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Sept. 27. **341.** CONFERENCES at CALAIS.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxi. p. 385.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages for a letter of reply to the Ambassador Surian, authorizing him, should it be decided to make a truce, to include the Republic, which will pay the Emperor the 20,000 ducats annually.

Note by Sanuto, that concerning this there was some murmuring, and as the Signory opposed the measure, the letter was not sent.

[*Italian.*]

* Master Liberal was a Venetian subject, a native of Treviso. In 1505 he was in attendance on Philip the Handsome and Queen Joanna. Few persons were better acquainted with the infancy and youth of Charles V. than Master Liberal, who, according to the Rutland Papers (p. 64), accompanied the Emperor to England in 1522.

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Sept. 28.

342. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 32.

Announces the recovery of Cardinal Wolsey, who is rather angry with France, because King Francis will not agree to a truce in Italy, but only north of the Alps; and on this condition he will consent to one for two years.

The French ambassadors have received orders to return to France, because the King wrote that the Chancellor's absence put him to inconvenience. But Cardinal Wolsey, not choosing them to depart, wrote about this to their King, who accordingly directed them to remain. Thus the Cardinal has ceased to be angry with France, and he seems to have addressed the Imperial ambassadors in strong language, saying he insisted on making this truce under any circumstances.

Calais, 28th September.* *Registered by Sanuto, 20th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29.

343. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 77, St. Mark's Library.

The majority of the Court, including the English ambassadors Spinelli and Wyngfeld, has proceeded to Mons, but although ill-lodged he (Contarini) will not separate himself from the Emperor, both for the sake of paying him court, as his Majesty is very fond of being accompanied, and also because he prefers being where he can hear news and transmit it to the Signory.

Nothing farther has been heard from Calais. The indisposition, or feigned indisposition, of Cardinal Wolsey seems to suspend all negotiations there, as the State will have been much better informed in detail by Surian.

Binche, 29th September 1521.

[*Italian, 2½ pages.*]

Oct. 2.

344. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 78, St. Mark's Library.

On the 27th ult., at Brussels, was visited by Don Alfonso Sanchez, a Spaniard appointed by the Emperor ambassador to Venice. Was assured by him that the Emperor sought nothing but the deliverance of Italy from the tyranny of the French, and that he (Sanchez) would present the Signory with incontrovertible evidence, proving that their supposed friends are in fact their enemies. Comparing these words with what he (Contarini) heard from his friend at Bruges, and with what the Bishop of Palencia said to him subsequently at Brussels, is led to believe that when at Bruges Cardinal Wolsey made some proposal to the Emperor of a nature injurious to the Signory's interests. Is also confirmed in this belief by such great secrecy [with regard to the embassy]†, the cause of which is inexplicable, unless it be that the Emperor, having rejected the proposal, is apprehensive lest Wolsey, being now at Calais (between which place and the Emperor's court the posts pass hourly), should become acquainted with the mission of Sanchez to Venice, and suspect that

* Sanuto states that there were four letters from Surian of this date, but he gives a summary only of the last.

† Mentioned previously in a letter from Contarini of the 19th of September.

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its object is to announce the proposal made by the Cardinal, for the purpose of rendering the Signory hostile to France.

Mons, 2nd October 1521.

[*Italian*, 2¼ *pages.*]

Oct. 2. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 79, St. Mark's Library.

345. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Perceives that the Emperor and the King of France are strongly bent on war, and matters on both sides being so far advanced suspects that neither of them will consider it compatible with honour to retreat, especially as no decision comes from Calais.

Should a conflict ensue, it must cause great detriment to Christendom; and those who thwarted the adjustment, which would indubitably have been effected at Bruges by Cardinal Wolsey, for the purpose of augmenting their possessions in Italy, will have to give account to the Almighty.

Mons, 2nd October 1521.

[*Italian*, 1¾ *page.*]

Oct. 11. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 81, St. Mark's Library.

346. The SAME to the SAME.

On the day before yesterday received letters from the ambassador Surian, mentioning that at the conferences between the Imperial and French ambassadors, the Count of Cariati said, with regard to intercepting couriers, that at La Chiusa a courier with letters for Cardinal Wolsey had been arrested, much to the Cardinal's displeasure. Thereupon Surian exculpated the Signory, and denied the truth of the assertion. The [Imperial] Chancellor said he knew nothing about the seizure of Wolsey's letters, but asserted that the Emperor's letter bags had been stopped on their way to Rome. This assertion, in like manner, Surian did not fail to confute by telling the truth; so the Cardinal was perfectly satisfied.

Dropped a hint concerning this matter to the Emperor, without specifying which of his commissioners had made this complaint. Requested him to have a letter written to the Chancellor acquainting him with the truth, in order that Cardinal Wolsey might be convinced the Signory had in no respect failed to observe the truce. The Emperor answered graciously that he would desire the Bishop of Palencia to write to the Chancellor. Will again urge the matter.

With regard to the negotiations at Calais, refers the State to Surian's despatches. Believes the negotiations to be protracted designedly for the purpose of keeping the Emperor and the King of France at expense.

Mons, 11th October 1521.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

Oct. [13 ?] Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 59.

347. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey is exerting himself much to arrange the disputes between these sovereigns, and has sent to tell the King of France that, if he wish for the adjustment, he must not proceed farther with his army.

Calais, ——— October. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd November.*

[*Italian.*]

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348. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter No. 82, St. Mark's Library.

Has heard on good authority that Hieronimo Adorno, who arrived post from Rome, was the bearer of the Pope's assent to the truce with France, but on condition that the Pope and the Emperor should await the result of the present crisis. If it result in their favour, they hope to stipulate the truce advantageously. In the event of a reverse, they rely on the King of England, trusting that he would compel the King of France to accept the truce, and that France would consent, lest England declare for the Emperor. Considers this probable from the fashion in which Cardinal Wolsey is acting at Calais; and having conversed occasionally with Sir Richard Wyngfeld, the English ambassador at Valenciennes (and not with his colleague the Florentine Spinelli), gathers that he [Wolsey or Wyngfeld?] is much inclined towards the Imperial party.

Valenciennes, 14th October 1521.

[*Italian*, 1⅓ *page.*]

Oct. 18.

349. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 72.

The two ambassadors destined by Cardinal Wolsey for the King of France, to make truce or some adjustment, namely, the Bishop of Ely and the Lord Chamberlain, are on the eve of departure. The Cardinal also sends two others to the Emperor, namely the Prior of St. John's and one Master Thomas [Boleyn].

Calais, 18th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25.

350. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 87, St. Mark's Library.

Arrival at Courtray late on the preceding evening of two ambassadors from the King of England. They came by way of Calais, and were great personages, namely, Sir Thomas Boleyn and my Lord of St. John's [Sir Thomas Docwra, Grand Prior of England]. Visited them this afternoon. They asked him for news. Supposing that their mission related to the truce, read to them the summaries of the Turkish advices, received in the Signory's packet of the 12th, and the missive addressed by Sultan Solyman to Ragusa.

The ambassadors seemed to hold the intelligence in great account, and said that the discord among Christians was the cause of this misfortune which had befallen Christendom. Assured them that the King of England and Cardinal Wolsey, by their exertions past and present to make peace between the Emperor and France, had rendered themselves meritorious before God; that the State and the whole of Christendom had no other hopes, save in them, for the extinction of so fierce a conflagration; and that if this were effected the King and the Cardinal would be hailed universally as fathers-general of the Christian commonwealth.

They replied, the King and Cardinal had not spared themselves, nor would they slacken their endeavours, though the Prior of St. John's represented the result as very doubtful; and Sir Thomas Boleyn said he hoped that after such turmoil and bad news for Christendom more cheering intelligence might follow. They both

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together exhorted him to send a copy of the summaries and of Sultan Solyman's letter to Calais. Is doing so, addressing the documents to Surian by the post which the English ambassadors are despatching thither.

The English ambassador Spinelli, accompanied by an Imperial trumpet and two servants, is gone to the French camp, for a conference with the King; some say for the purpose of desiring the King of France not to proceed farther, whilst others maintain that he will prohibit him to garrison any place, as stipulated in his treaty with England. Both these causes appear to be slightly reasonable. Is of opinion that such a message would have been conveyed by a post from Calais, and not from Courtray, but can only write what he hears.

Courtray, 25th October 1521.

Contradicts the report of the mission of Spinelli to the French camp. Considered it improbable from the first, and his secretary has just seen Spinelli in this town.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Oct. 28. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 36.

351. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Approve his reply with regard to the letters which Cardinal Wolsey suspects have been delayed by Venetian agents. No Venetian agents have ever detained letters from the Pope, or letters addressed to him by the Emperor, nor any courier or bag. On the contrary, at the commencement of these disturbances in Italy, as a measure of caution, the Signory gave orders at all the passes under their jurisdiction for all Papal and Imperial couriers to be treated like their own. To vouch for this fully, and confute the charges made by the Count of Cariati and the Imperial Chancellor.

Have received from Mons. de Lautrec copies of letters intercepted in the Bolognese territory on their way from Rome to Germany. Mention this to exculpate the Signory should any charge be brought against them on this account.

Approve his reply with regard to Cardinal Wolsey's inquiry as to the joint march of the Venetian and French armies against the Pope. Being allies of the most Christian King, could not refuse to furnish him with troops according to agreement, for the benefit of their mutual territories. Declare themselves the devoted sons of the Pope. Will not attempt to make any innovation (*novità*); on the contrary, will stifle every incentive to disturbance.

In reply to the Cardinal's loving offer to insert a special clause in the truce about to be made that the Venetian galleys, ships, and merchants trading with England shall have free ingress and egress both by sea and land, are daily convinced of the intense interest in their affairs felt by his right reverend Lordship; but wish the clause to apply to all Venetian galleys and ships on their passage through the dominions of the contracting parties, and not merely to such as touch at the ports of England.

In reply to the communication made by the French ambassadors, that Cardinal Wolsey had proposed a truce between the Emperor and his most Christian Majesty north of the Alps, and that the

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affairs of the Pope in Italy should remain undetermined, state that they wish the truce to be general on both sides the Alps, for otherwise there would remain cause for dissension and strife between their Majesties in Italy, to the Signory's detriment, they being the allies of France.

The Spaniards of the Papal and Imperial army cruelly sacked Ottolengo, a very opulent castle in the Brescian territory. They most scandalously despoiled women and men, carrying them off prisoners, taking all their property, and sparing neither sex nor age. They violated even the tabernacle of the Body of Christ, and committed such acts of cruelty as defy exaggeration. To acquaint Cardinal Wolsey with these facts, as his religion and virtue will make him regret the intelligence. The troops with the Cardinal of Sion in the Brescian territory, although well supplied by the Signory's subjects, carry off all horses and other animals which they meet on their march.

A messenger from Sultan Solyman has today arrived at Venice, and had audience of the Signory. He announced the surrender of Belgrade, and declared that his master had left all his artillery in those parts, for the purpose of returning in the spring to follow up the victory.

This news is lamentable, and of importance to all Christians. To communicate it to Cardinal Wolsey.

[*Italian*, 77 *lines.*]

Oct. 28. **352.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 75.

Besides the two ambassadors to the King of France, two other ambassadors were going to the Emperor, namely, the Prior of St. John's [Sir Thomas Dockwra] and a physician (*uno medico*) Thomas . . . . . [Boleyn],* who was ambassador in France. This was done at the request of the Imperial ambassadors, who, for reputation's sake, wished that two others should be sent in like manner to the Emperor. Cardinal Wolsey, it seems, said that if he were in good health he would go himself to the King of France to effect so good a work.

Calais, 28th October (in cipher). *Registered by Sanuto, 9th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 28. **353.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 75.

Told by Madame, the King's mother, that she had received letters from his Majesty, dated in the camp near Valenciennes on the 25th, announcing the arrival there of the two English ambassadors, the Bishop of Ely and the Lord Chamberlain, who were come, with the consent of the Emperor, to negotiate a truce for 10 months, but the King of France wished the period to be at least 14 months, with the following conditions:—Those in possession to

* For the name Boleyn, see Lingard, vol. iv. p. 203 (ed. London, 1854). It is probable that "*uno medico Thomaso*" was a mistake for "*uno Maestro Thomaso*," etc., "one *Sir* Thomas," etc.

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remain so (*chi ha si tegna*); the friends and allies of the parties to be included. King Francis was of opinion that some difficulty might arise about the city of Fonterabia, now in his possession, but that all would be adjusted, and he considered the conclusion of this truce certain.

Compiegne, 28th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29–30. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 102.

354. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Gives an account of the negotiations for the truce and its difficulties. Believes the King of France will consent to it, having indeed hard work upon his hands at Tournai against the Emperor. The King of England is fitting out some ships, including a large one. Cardinal Wolsey says the King is doing this for the safety of his kingdom,* but in fact it is for the purpose of inducing the King of France to accept the truce; and the Cardinal would wish him to retain Fonterabia, in lieu of the "superiority" of Flanders. Moreover, the Imperial commander in Ardres, perceiving that he was unable to keep the place, burnt it; and the French governor of Boulogne went out with a force and took several Flemish castles and places, treating the inhabitants with very great cruelty. The French have also taken La Motte and its lord, by name Monsieur de la Motte.

Calais, 29th and 30th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 82.

355. Giovanni Badoer to the Signory.

Is here with the Queen [Claude] and Madame [Louise], and the rest of the ambassadors. Sends a letter received from Gasparo Spinelli, who is in the camp with King Francis, dated the 30th. The King had held two conferences with the English ambassadors, and the stipulation of the truce for one year depends on his Majesty, but before signing it he would fain witness the execution (*sic*).

On the 2nd of November the two English ambassadors are again to confer with the King for the conclusion of this truce.

Compiegne, 31st October. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 91, St. Mark's Library.

356. Gasparo Contarini to the Council of Ten.

No news from Calais. On the morning before last, when speaking with the English ambassadors, they told him they were expecting the reply from France.

The Emperor thinks of crossing from Calais to England, and then riding 100 leagues through the island to the headland [Falmouth?] in the direction of Spain, where he will embark, and make the voyage to Spain in three or four days.

Oudenarde, 2nd November 1521.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

* "Per esser ziloso dil suo regno." This may relate either to foreign or domestic enemies. In a letter of 20th August 1521, Surian implied that the partisans of the late Duke of Buckingham caused some uneasiness to the Government.

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357. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 92. St. Mark's Library.

The Emperor is come to Ath to discuss the attack on Tournai, the capture of which place is considered difficult, most especially as the winter has commenced. Has been given to understand, though not by persons of great authority, that the King of England seems not to assent to the seizure of Tournai, on account of the tribute which he receives from the King of France for that town, and which, if in the hands of the Emperor, would be lost to him. Does not believe this. If it were true, the Imperialists would not so openly discuss the undertaking.

The King of England is said to have ordered a number of troops to be in readiness for immediate service.

Ath, 7th November 1521.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

Nov. 7.

358. The DOGE and SENATE to ALVISE GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 40.

To complain to the Pope of the outrages committed in the Brescian territory by the Switzers and the Papal and Imperial armies.

Copy of the letter to be sent to the Venetian ambassador in England, that he may use it, in case of need, to justify the Signory's proceedings.

Ayes, 159. Noes, 6. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 7.

359. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 102.

Is still with the Queen and Madame. Sends letters from his secretary, who accompanied King Francis. The French army perpetrated great cruelty in those parts, waging war in the Turkish fashion, notwithstanding which Tournai is straitened. Assigns the following reasons for the refusal of the truce by the King of France:—he will not restore Fonterabia, nor allow the exiles to return to Italy, nor the Emperor to enter it with an army during the 18 months for which the truce is to be stipulated. King Francis has written to Chancellor Duprat and his other ambassadors at Calais, desiring them, should Cardinal Wolsey not conclude the truce within four days, to take leave and return to his Majesty.

Dated 7th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th November.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 12.

360. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 93, St. Mark's Library.

In a former letter announced the intention of the Emperor to go to Spain through England, taking his passage from Falmouth; but the other day, when speaking with the English ambassadors about this passage, they seemed not to approve of his Majesty's traversing their island.

Oudenarde, 12th November 1521.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Nov. 7. Cæsarius's Despatch. Letter Book. Letter no. 92. St. Mark's Library.

357. GABRIANO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor is come to Ath to discuss the attack on Tournai, this capture of which place is considered difficult, most especially as the winter has commenced. The loss given to proceed, though not by persons of great authority, that the King of England seems not to assent to the seizure of Tournai, on account of the tribute which he receives from the King of France for that town, and which, if in the hands of the Emperor, would be lost to him. Does not believe this. If it were true, the Imperialists would not openly discuss the undertaking.

The King of England is said to have ordered a number of troops to be in readiness for immediate service.

Ath, 7th November 1521.

[Italian, 1½ pages.]

Nov. 7. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 10.

358. The DOGE and SENATE to ALVISE GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome.

To complain to the Pope of the outrages committed in the Brescian territory by the Switzers and the Papal and Imperial armies.

Copy of the letter to be sent to the Venetian ambassador in England, that he may use it, in case of need, to justify the Signory's proceedings.

Ayes, 135. Noes, 0. Neutral, 1.

[Italian.]

Nov. 7. Senato Diarii, v. xxxii. p. 102.

359. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Is still with the Queen and Madame. Sends letters from his secretary, who accompanied King Francis. The French army perpetrated great cruelty in those parts, waging war in the Turkish fashion, notwithstanding which Tournai is stringently. Assigns the following reasons for the refusal of the town by the King of France:—he will not restore Fontarabia, nor allow the exiles to return to Italy, nor the Emperor to enter it with an army during the 18 months for which the truce is to be stipulated. King Francis has written to Chancellor Depratt and his other ambassadors at Calais, desiring them, should Cardinal Wolsey not conclude the truce within four days, to take leave and return to his Majesty.

Dated 7th November. Registered by Senate, 20th November.

[Italian.]

Nov. 12. Cæsarius's Despatch. Original Letter Book. Letter no. 93. St. Mark's Library.

360. GABRIANO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

In a former letter announced the intention of the Emperor to go to Spain through England, taking his passage from Falmouth; but the other day, when speaking with the English ambassadors about this passage, they seemed not to approve of his Majesty's traversing their island.

Oudenarde, 12th November 1521.

[Italian, 2 pages.]

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Nov. 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 138.

361. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey and the ambassadors of the sovereigns are still here.

Calais, 13th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 233.

362. ANTONIO SURIAN to the COUNCIL of TEN.

Cardinal Wolsey complained that the Signory was the cause of the failure of the adjustment between the Emperor and the King of France, and that he will return to England with shame. He would punish those who had been the cause of impediment.

Justified the State in reply. The Cardinal said the State's justification depended upon its joining the league with the Emperor and the King of England.

Calais, 14th November 1521. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th January* 1522.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 233.

363. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL of TEN.

The Reverend Stafileo [Marino Caracciolo ?], the Papal ambassador, said the Signory should have an understanding with the Pope and the Emperor, and also with the King of England.

Dated . . . . . 14th November 1521.* *Registered by Sanuto, 10th January* 1522.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 95, St. Mark's Library.

364. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The negotiation for the truce appears more difficult than at first, and the Imperialists consider it hopeless. From what he has heard, —and the fact is confirmed by the Papal ministers (Caracciolo and Adorno),—the King of France will not surrender Fonterabia, nor will he include in the truce certain allies of the Emperor and the Pope. This morning the two English ambassadors, namely, the Grand Prior of England and Sir Thomas Boleyn, the Treasurer of the Household (*maior domo regio*),† departed from Oudenarde on their way back to Calais.

Is assured by a trustworthy person that Cardinal Wolsey gives the Emperor fair hopes that his King will join the league with the Pope and his Majesty, and declare against France.

Oudenarde, 17th November 1521.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Nov. 19. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 96, St. Mark's Library.

365. The SAME to the SAME.

The Prior of England and Sir Thomas Boleyn departed on Sunday morning, because the articles [of agreement] were not to the Emperor's satisfaction.

Conversed this morning with some persons of authority in the Emperor's chamber, and inferred from their conversation that the difficulty or delay in accepting the truce proceeds from the hope

* On the 14th November 1521 the Imperial Court resided at Oudenarde, as seen by the Contarini letter book, in which there is a despatch to the Council of Ten dated then and thence, but it contains no such paragraph as the one registered above by Sanuto.

† Perhaps Comptroller of the Household.

1521. given to the Emperor that affairs in Italy will prove prosperous for him, that is to say, that the French will be expelled from the Milanese through this junction of the Switzers with the Imperialists. The "impassioned counsellors," who thus encourage the Emperor, are the two Papal ministers at his Court (Marino Caracciolo and Hieronimo Adorno)—the one, the servant and pupil of the Sforza family, would fain see the duchy of Milan in possession of a son of the late Lord Ludovic; the other, the head of the Adorno family, is anxious to return home and rule Genoa. Is of opinion that both the one and the other deceive themselves.

Oudenarde, 19th November 1521.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Nov. 21. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 99, St. Mark's Library.

366. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 19th the Hungarian ambassador* returned from Calais, and on the same evening had audience of the Emperor. On the following morning he remained with the Imperial counsellors almost until noon. Paid him a visit for the purpose of eliciting something about his conference with the Emperor and his ministers, and the ambassador communicated to him all that had been negotiated at Calais about the truce. He said that first one and then the other of the two sovereigns accepted or rejected the proposals, by the measure of their reverses or successes. When at length Cardinal Wolsey drew up the articles, the King of France modified them. He insisted on retaining Fonterabia, and that the Duke of Guelders, Dom. Robert de la Marck, the Duke of Ferrara, and the Duke of Vintiberg [*sic*, Würtemberg?] should be comprised in the truce as his adherents. He added a clause at the end, purporting that he would not permit the slightest alteration in these points.

When these articles were sent back to Calais, the Chancellor [Gattinara] said that, as he was accused of thwarting the adjustment, he referred them to the Emperor, by whom they were utterly rejected.

Azalino, the Hungarian ambassador, considering how injurious it must be to Hungary not to receive assistance from the Emperor and France (which would be impossible should the war last), came to Oudenarde to facilitate the truce. The Emperor referred him to a committee consisting of the Bishop of Palencia, Mons. de Berghes, Mons. de Bresse, and Mons. de Montagni, to whom he made his statement, which they will answer after having communicated with the Emperor.

Inquired what hope Azalino had of success. He said that the Imperialists seemed to him very obstinate, and guided by their own prejudices. The Chancellor and the Bishop of Palencia both wished the duchy of Milan to change hands, the one because he is a native of the province of Vercelli,† the other because he expects Leo X. to give him the red hat. The Flemings follow this example, so that few act loyally towards the Emperor.

* In date 6th July and 5th September, Contarini wrote that this Hungarian ambassador was a Venetian named Azalino, and a churchman.

† The Imperial Chancellor, Mercurino Arboreo, was born at Gattinara, on the Sesia. In history he is known by the name of his birthplace. He was a staunch Antigallican.

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The Imperialists are continuing the attack on Tournai. The artillery has arrived, and they will soon commence battering the town.

Oudenarde, 21st November, 1521.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Nov. 25. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 100, St. Mark's Library.

367. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Hungarian ambassador [Azalino] quitted Oudenarde, on his way to England, on the morning of the 24th before daybreak, without making any further communication. Was not aware of his departure until two hours after it took place. There is no longer any question whatever of an adjustment, military preparations being alone attended to.

Should the Emperor go to Spain, and the war with France continue, his only road would be through Italy, as all others, even the one through England, present great obstacles.

Oudenarde, 25th November 1521.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

Nov. 26. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 119.

368. EMBASSY to HENRY VIII.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages (and carried), for a letter to be addressed to Antonio Surian, giving an account of the negotiations at Venice between the Imperial ambassador and the Signory, and desiring Surian to exhort Cardinal Wolsey to adjust the disputes between the Emperor and the King of France.

[*Italian*.]

Nov. 26. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 46.

369. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

The Papal and Spanish forces entered into the Milanese on the 19th instant. On the retreat of the Signory's army Theodore Triulzi was captured. The French, with all their men-at-arms and infantry, have assembled at Como and Lecco. The Venetian men-at-arms and infantry remain with the artillery.

To communicate this intelligence to Cardinal Wolsey, demonstrating the peril of Christendom unless the Almighty give assistance through his right reverend lordship, who of his wisdom is intent on making peace among Christians. Hope that by means of his authority an auspicious result may ensue.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian*, 22 *lines*.]

Nov. 26. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 46 tergo.

370. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR with SULTAN SOLYMAN, and to the VENETIAN BAILIFF at CONSTANTINOPLE.

Events in Italy must depend on those in the West. The Emperor and his most Christian Majesty are at war in Flanders and Picardy, and Cardinal Wolsey is still negotiating an agreement between them at Calais.

Ayes, 178. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 26 *lines*.]

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Nov. 26.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 200.

371. ANTONIO SURIAN to the STATE.

The affair of the truce between the Emperor and France has vanished into smoke, and the ambassadors of both sovereigns have departed, though Mons. Poliot [Poillot ?], usually resident in England with the King, remained with Cardinal Wolsey, who was about to cross the Channel. The Cardinal endeavoured to make the truces, at least for 30 days, and spoke to Poliot, who said he had no commission soever, but would write to his sovereign.

Calais, — to 26th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 105, St. Mark's Library.

372. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Announces the capture of the town and castle of Tournai by Mons. de Nassau.

Oudenarde, 2nd December 1521.

[*Italian, 2½ pages.*]

Dec. 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. pp. 201–203.

373. FRANCIS I. to MONS. DE LAUTREC.

(Copy transmitted to the Signory by Proveditor General Gritti.)

* * * * * *

"I have in like manner sent to England, despatching thither again La Bâtie and Poillot,* counsellor of my Grand Council [Parliament ?], to acquaint the King of England with what has occurred at Milan, and with what I have consequently done and am doing, giving him a full account of the position of my affairs."

* * * * * *

Written at Compiegne on the 3rd of December 1521.

(Signed) FRANCOIS. (Countersigned) ROBERTET.

Registered by Sanuto, 29th December.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 139.

374. LAST NEWS of CARDINAL ADRIAN CASTELLESI, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

Cardinal Adrian, by reason of his having been deprived of the hat and excommunicated by this Pope Leo,† has been living hitherto very privately (*secretissimo*) in this city in the house (according to report) of the Bishop of Paphos, Pesaro,‡ in Cà Bernardo, on the Grand Canal at S. Polo, but no one visited him. He studied and wrote. He had a very trusty friar with him. On hearing of the Pope's death, he departed rejoicing on his way to Rome, but nothing more was ever heard of him. It is supposed he was murdered on the road.

[*Note by Sanuto.*]

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* "Polleto" in MS.

† Leo X. died on the 1st of December 1521.

‡ Whilst Cardinal Adrian was the guest of the Bishop of Paphos, Titian *commenced* that prelate's famous altar-piece at the "Frari," which he finished in May 1526. It is supposed by some persons that the figure of St. Peter in that picture (which was commenced on the 28th April 1519) represented the lineaments of Adrian Castellesi, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Cà Bernardo at S. Polo (a Gothic building of the 15th century) may still be seen on the Grand Canal, and belongs, as in 1521, to the Bernardo family.

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Dec. 9. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 108, St. Mark's Library.

375. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Conversation held by his (Contarini's) secretary with the Bishop of Palencia, who said,—"The Venetian Signory is most sage; as the opportunity is offered to her, let her not lose it. The Emperor has no other enemy than the King of France, who being vanquished, his Imperial Majesty will turn his thoughts to the affairs of the Infidels; and as we know that the Signory is a good instument for aiding this excellent desire, we wish to see a good understanding between them and the Emperor. We shall have the Switzers, who for 100,000 ducats will engage themselves; and then perhaps the King of England will also be on our side."

Oudenarde, 9th December 1521.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages*.]

Dec. 17. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 111, St. Mark's Library.

376. The SAME to the SAME.

As ordered by the State, will communicate the advices from Hungary to the Emperor, who last Sunday received news of the Pope's death on the 2nd instant. This unexpected intelligence will doubtless much disturb him, as it seems greatly to interfere with all his projects. The Imperialists however hope and trust that their ambassador, Don Emanuel, will do his utmost to obtain the Papal tiara for Cardinal de' Medici, though this was not credited by persons acquainted with the Court of Rome, and the majority anticipates the election of the Cardinal of Sienna.*

Ghent, 17th December 1521.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

Dec. 18. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 112, St. Mark's Library.

377. The SAME to the SAME.

Has been told today by the Bishop of Palencia that they did not expect Cardinal de' Medici to be elected Pope, but rather some individual as his nominee, through the favour and assistance of the other Imperial cardinals.

Ghent, 18th December 1521.

[*Italian*, 1 *page*.]

Dec. 23. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 113, St. Mark's Library.

378. The SAME to the SAME.

A few days ago the Emperor sent Mons. de Castro to the King of England. Has been unable to ascertain the cause of this mission, but believes it to relate to some treaty with England.

Ghent, 23rd December 1521.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

Dec. 24. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 114, St. Mark's Library.

379. The SAME to the SAME.

Arrival at Ghent on the preceding morning of Richard Pace, chief secretary of the King of England.

At 9 p.m. Pace sent to his (Contarini's) lodging, desiring to see his secretary, to whom he said that he was going to Rome by order of his King, and required a passport through the Venetian territories for one of his attendants, who was to precede him, riding post.

* Raffaello Petrucci. He had been named Cardinal by Leo X., A.D. 1517, July 1st, and died A.D. 1522, at the age of 50.

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The secretary replied that, although unnecessary for an English subject in the Venetian dominions, by reason of the love which the State bore his King, yet the passport should be given, and its bearer receive as good treatment as if he were a born subject of the Signory's. The secretary remained some while in conversation with Pace, having known him at Rome;* and returned home accompanied by the person for whom the passport was required. He (Contarini) gave the passport, and this morning visited Pace. Received from him assurances of his constant affection for the State, and was urged by him to let the Signory know as speedily as possible that the King of England desired nothing but the preservation of Venice. Pace knew the Emperor likewise to be of the same mind, and that this bias would continue unless the State sought its own ruin. He added that the State, having hitherto assisted the King of France in virtue of the obligation contracted with him, should now attend to its own affairs.

Returned becoming thanks for the assurances of goodwill on the part of Pace and his King, and attributed the policy of the Signory in favour of the French to the oath and promise given by them, no advantage having accrued to Venice, whereas the expense incurred was immense, so that the hostilities, especially in Italy, had been most injurious to the State individually, irrespectively of the interests of Christendom, which might suffer very seriously from the present wars.

Assured Pace, after alluding to the Turkish news, that Venice did the utmost for peace according to the example of the King of England. Endeavoured to ascertain the cause of Pace's mission to Rome, but all he could elicit was that it concerned the negotiations of his King with the new Pope.

The Papal Nuncio had sent to tell him, as a very great secret, that the treaty between the Emperor and the King of England might be considered settled.

Ghent, 24th December 1521.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages.*]

Dec. 25. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 317.

380. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The French ambassadors have had audience of King Henry, who delayed his reply until after consultation with the ministry. He is sending two ambassadors, one to the Emperor, the other to the Switzers to persuade them not to stir. Cardinal Wolsey is exasperated against France, because she sent the Duke of Albany to Scotland. Requested Wolsey to write again to the Emperor, and assure him the galley detained in Biscay went to St. Sebastian's, not to do any mischief, but from stress of weather. The Cardinal told him to draw up the minute, and that he would have the letter written.

London, 25th December 1521. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th February* 1522.

[*Italian.*]

* The secretary, Lorenzo Trevisan, had probably known Pace at Rome in 1514, at the time of the death of Cardinal Bainbridge. (See Ellis, series 1, vol. i. p. 108.)

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Dec. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. pp. 276, 277.

381. VINCENZO PRIULI, Captain of the Flanders Galleys, to his Brothers HIRONIMO and FRANCESCO.

After having shaped his course so as to cross from Laredo, when in the Bay of Biscay, on St. Nicholas' Eve, 6th December, he was compelled by a violent storm either to make for the coast of France or proceed with his consort to St. Sebastian's, as they did. Having then determined to cross from that port, made Plymouth on 18th December. But the third galley, Antonio Donado master, in order not to follow them, entered the harbour of St. Sebastian's, and when they landed the magistrates of the place arrested the master and other officers, and seized the sails, rudder, and guns, alleging that the truce with the Emperor had been violated, and that the galley was bound for Fonterabia, to succour that place, which holds for France. On hearing this he (the captain) wrote immediately to the ambassador Surian, to take precautions and send the copy of the safeconduct.

Plymouth, 27th December 1521. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th January* 1522.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 30. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 117, St. Mark's Library.

382. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Imperialists are awaiting the election of the future Pope, which will enable them to base their projects much better, but it is asserted that the Emperor will proceed to Spain by way of England.

Ghent, 30th December 1521.

[*Italian*, 1 *page.*]

Dec. 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 210.

383. LUTHER.

Copy of an anonymous letter, giving an account of the pernicious novelties which have taken place at Wittemberg owing to the errors of Luther disseminated there.

A volume, still more a letter, would be insufficient to give an account of a new order or usage of the Christian faith, commenced at Wittemberg, but I write as follows, translating from the German :—

The friars hermits of St. Austin, have proved by Holy Writ that to celebrate masses as now practised is a great sin. This doctrine they have preached daily from Michaelmas Day 1521 to the present time. They continue firm in their opinion, and demonstrate it practically, for since Michaelmas Sunday they have not said mass in the church of their monastery. On this account there has been a great contest between the people, the doctors, the canons, spiritual and temporal, and other learned men, who were induced to debate with the friars ; but the latter would not be convinced by argument, and remain firm in their determination. They will not celebrate masses in the form hitherto observed, and celebrate but one sort of mass.

Subsequently the doctors of divinity assembled and sent a letter to the Duke of Saxony, acquainting him with what the friars are

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doing, and asserting that it is in accordance with the Christian faith. This took place on the day of All Saints (1st of November). The letter purported that they intend to abolish the masses said for the dead, and the anniversaries and vigils in commemoration of departed souls; and all the doctors who are of this opinion signed the letter. The Duke's reply is said to be to the following effect,—that they must be well grounded and thoroughly understand Holy Writ with regard to these points of doctrine, so as not to cause disturbance amongst the people in course of debate, and be able to afford fundamental proof, and to present it in writing; requesting them not to set a bad example to the people.

The head of that church is a provost,* who preached in person both on All Saints' eve and on the day itself, when a great number of strangers came into the town for the plenary indulgence (*perdon plenario*), which cost the Elector† many thousands of ducats. The preacher impugned the indulgence, and proved by Holy Writ that the custom of masses for the dead and the indulgence likewise were abuses and false. He threw down the money box, and scattered its contents (*et sfondrò el fundo de la cassa*). They have abolished the custom of inflicting penance on sinners in public, declaring that these penances and pardons are diabolical inventions; and by specious doctrine, based on Holy Writ, the preacher showed that the true Christian penitent should perform satisfactory penance by doing as David says in the Psalms.

The Austin friars have recently made a fresh innovation with regard to their prior, who gives the rules and orders to be observed by them. They replied that they are solely bound to observe the commandments of God; that their salvation is impossible so long as they obey their superiors, because the superior commands them at stated times to sleep, rise, read, eat, drink, speak, and be silent; that by doing so they are unable to obey the commandment of God in the matter of faith, and to serve others for love and charity, by assisting, counselling, and teaching; and that the neglect of these precepts is immaterial, whereas to disobey the orders and regulations of the prior subjects them to the loss of everything.

This they proved most ably (*bellissimamente*) by Holy Writ, and priests and friars preach publicly from the pulpit, praying and commanding one-half of the friars, for the love of God, if such be their fantasy, to throw off their capes, and depart thence, relying on their merit with God (*et retenir al merito de Dio*).

In consequence of this proceeding another great popular commotion (*murmuration*) took place, and the friar fell ill, but on the following Sunday he again preached and read the Gospel, though from weakness he could scarcely stand; and he besought the people by Christ's passion, as before, [telling them] that whosoever took a friar or nun

* "*Uno preposito*," qu. archdeacon, *i.e.*, Andrew Bodenstein, better known by the name of Carlostadt or Carlostadius, assumed by him from the place of his birth. In 1519 he was *archdeacon* of the cathedral of Wittemberg, and having embraced the opinions of Luther, published a thesis in their defence, but subsequently, in August 1524, he quarrelled with Luther. See an article about him in the Dictionary of Bassano.

† Qu. Albert of Brandenburg, Elector of Mentz, brother of Frederick, Duke of Saxony. See Roscoe's Life of Leo X. (vol. iii. p. 153, ed. London, 1805).

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out of a monastery would rescue a soul from the devil's claws, as there was no hope of improving the monasteries; that the friars should be freed from the rules of their orders, including such as relate to apparel; that those who tell them otherwise could not substantiate their doctrine;* and that should they live to the extremity of human life they would never be good for anybody but the devil, as by external acts and works and by their apparel they make a [false] profession,† and cause the loss of so many souls. The preacher's doctrine relative to false faith, obedience, poverty, and chastity were so edifying (*bella*), that many persons shed tears from devotion. He declared that if there were no other sin in the world but the hypocritical professions of the friars and nuns, it would be no marvel were God to punish all Christendom. He said plainly that they [the Austin friars] intended to depart this week, and should any of them return, he requested the council and superior of the town [of Wittemberg] to expel them. To the friars who remain they were to give a thousand florins; the University was to take their dormitory, and found a college. On the following Thursday I went into the monastery to the prior, who complained to me of his distress, and said that on that same day one-half of the friars, in number 25, had departed, as many more remaining; and he had not the courage to give them any commands, but remained among them like a lamb.

On the day of All Saint's the vicar (*pievano*) announced publicly from the pulpit that the sacrament is of two kinds, namely, bread and wine, and that such as wished to take it for their salvation and remission of sins would receive it under both forms, because Christ gave it. Many persons went therefore and communicated under both species. He said that henceforth he purposed celebrating one mass, together with a sermon, and that he would administer the communion in this form.

The masses for the souls of the dead and other ceremonies are abolished.

At this very moment a man-at-arms on horseback has well nigh killed a Franciscan friar with an iron mace, and rode over him. The Franciscans are likewise preparing for departure, some having already gone away this week. One of them came to my house in a doublet and slashed hose with a cod piece (*bragetto*) in the Swiss fashion.‡

Undated. Registered by Sanuto, 31st December.

[*Italian.*]

* "Et chi li informasse altramente non staria saldo."

† "Con atti et opere exteriori et vestimenti demonstrano, et fanno perder," &c.

‡ In Roscoe's Life of Leo X., vol. 4, pp. 40, 41, it is stated that Luther, after his departure from the diet of Augsburg in April 1521, remained in the castle of Wartburg, until after the death of Leo X., which took place on the 1st of December 1521. From a passage in Mosheim (vol. 2, p. 29, English transation) it may be inferred that the demonstrations made at Wittemberg in November 1521 proceeded chiefly from Carlostadt, *alias* Bodenstein, whose impetuosity was disapproved of by Luther. Mosheim styles him "Professor at Wittemberg." Roscoe adds that he was "Archdeacon of Wittemberg Cathedral in 1519," and doubtless he still filled that post in 1521, but I do not believe that anything has been printed about his doings in that year. Sanuto's letter is also valuable, as it gives details of the Lutheran movement during Luther's retirement in the castle of Wartburg.

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Jan. [6?]. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 274.

384. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Cardinal Wolsey departed from Calais and returned to England with him (Surian) and other ambassadors and great personages (*signori*).

An ambassador from the King of France is expected, the negotiation for the agreement being still on foot.

On receiving news of the Pope's death, the King immediately despatched his secretary, Richard Pace, post to Rome, to effect the election of Cardinal Wolsey as Pope. Pace was invested with great authority to promise money, &c.; and the King has written to the Emperor to promote Wolsey's election.

After the death of the King of Scotland, the Duke of Albany assumed the government, and the Scotch ravaged the English territory. For this the Duke sent to apologize, assuring the King and Cardinal that the raid had taken place without his consent. The King, however, is fitting out his fleet, some say against Scotland, others that it is to convoy the Emperor, who means to cross over to Spain.

Announces the arrival in England of two of the Flanders galleys on —— December, and what befell the third galley. Went to the King and complained of this violation of the safeconduct. The Cardinal and his Majesty caused stringent letters to be written to the Emperor for the release of the galley and observance of the safeconduct, as the galleys were bound to the King's dominions.

Since the death of the Pope, the French ambassador who was expected has not come, which Cardinal Wolsey resents.

The above are extracts from several letters, the last dated —— January. Registered by Sanuto, 24th January.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 6. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 120, St. Mark's Library.

385. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Receipt of letters from the ambassador Surian in England, giving an account of the storm encountered by the Flanders galleys in the Bay of Biscay. Surian also enclosed letters addressed to him (Contarini) by Antonio Donato, master of one of the galleys, narrating the gale, and how his vessel had been seized at St. Sebastian's by Don Beltrame of Castile, captain-general and governor of that town. His two consorts were free at Corunna, but apprehensive of Don Pedro Bobadilla, a sea captain, who was gone to fit out a squadron with intent to capture them.

Applied for redress to the Chancellor, to the Emperor, and to the Bishop of Palencia, in observance both of the truce and of the Imperial safeconducts; and requested that orders might be given to Don Pedro de Bobadilla, and the galleys be enabled to proceed in safety to Flanders.

Ghent, 6th January 1522.

[*Italian, 3 pages.*]

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Jan. 7. **386.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 226.

Scrutiny for an ambassador to the King of England, in lieu of Marco Antonio Venier, LL.D., who has refused [the post], and taken his seat as sage for the Mainland. Ambassador appointed in his stead, Lodovico Falier.

Note by Sanuto that all canvassed most diligently, "standing by the stairs," &c.*

	Ayes.	Noes.
Hironimo Polani, LL.D., late of the Senate	104	111
Silvestro Memo, late of the "*Raxon vechie*"	77	135
Francesco Morosini, LL.D.	87	117
Carlo Capello, late "*auditor novo*"	65	137
Marco Gradenigo, LL.D., late of the Senate	94	115
Marco Antonio Contarini, late "*avogador*"	99	107
Marco Contarini, late "*camerlengo di comun*"	94	111
Cristofal Capello, late of the Senate	50	152
Zuan Antonio Venier, one of the X sages	127	74
Giustinian Contarini, of the Senate	78	115
Andrea Loredan	64	124
Bertuccio Soranzo, late "*auditor vecchio*"	92	116
Nicolò da' Ponte, LL.D., late of the Senate & Lecturer	87	128
Lorenzo di Priuli	112	90
Lodovico Falier	140	66
Zuam Basadonna, LL.D., late of the Senate	124	92
Andrea di Priuli, LL.D.	102	96
Agustin da Cha da Pesaro, late "*auditor nuovo*"	106	99

Jan. 7. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 59.

387. The DOGE and SENATE to the Proveditor-General GRITTI.

The Emperor has demanded free passage through the Venetian states for 8,000 or 10,000 lansquenets to join his army in the Milanese. This demand requires consideration, as the Emperor is allied with England.

Ayes, 172. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 28 *lines*.]

Jan. 9. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 121, St. Mark's Library.

388. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Does not cease urging the release of the Donata galley. The two galleys, its consorts, and the other two Venetian ships were allowed to proceed.

Ghent, 9th January 1522.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages*.]

Jan. 9. Misti Consiglio X. v. xliv. p. 105.

389. MOTION in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA for communicating to the Senate their reply to the Imperial ambassador on the proposal made to them for a confederacy with the Emperor, and the letters of their ambassador in England, stating what Cardinal Wolsey said on this subject,

Ayes, 19. Noes, 7. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian*, 13 *lines*.]

* I transcribe the names, as they are all historical, and, together with Sanuto's comment, show the political importance of England at the moment of the death of Leo X

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Jan. 10. **390.** CONFERENCE at CALAIS.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 231.

Four letters read in the Senate, namely,—

(1.) From Antonio Surian, ambassador to the King of England, dated Calais, 14th November, narrating conversations with Cardinal Wolsey, who complains of having been unable to make the agreement.

(2.) From Gasparo Contarini, ambassador to the Emperor, dated Ghent (*sic*), 14th of November,* about conversations held with the Papal Nuncio, Stafileo (*sic*).†

(3.) The reply to these letters, made by the Council of Ten with the Junta.

(4.) Another letter from Gasparo Contarini, dated Oudenarde (*sic*), 25th December.‡

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11. **391.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 122, St. Mark's Library.

On the 9th received letters announcing the arrival of the captain of the Flanders galleys (Vincenzo Priuli) at Portsmouth.

Surian forwarded to him (Contarini) a missive from the King of England for the Emperor, demanding the release of the Flanders galley. As the Emperor was absent, sent his secretary to read the letter to the Bishop of Palencia, with a request that in the letter to the Governors of Biscay mention might be made of the King of England's demand. The Secretary Covos sent the minute for his inspection. Remarked in it a clause that if the Governors were acquainted with any fresh circumstances rendering it inexpedient to abide by the safeconduct in favour of the galley they were to transmit an account of them to the Imperial Court, and in the meanwhile to preserve all the effects intact. Sent back his secretary to the Bishop, requesting this clause might be expunged.

This morning presented the letter from the King of England to the Emperor. Conferred with the Chancellor (Gattinara) respecting the said clause, and was referred to the Emperor.

The Imperialists are apprehensive that, as the port of St. Sebastian is near to Fonterabia, the galleys have gone thither on an understanding with the French, for the purpose of exciting revolution.

Ghent, 11th January 1522.

[*Italian,* 3 *pages.*]

Jan. 11. **392.** MISSION of RICHARD PACE to Rome.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 267.

Letter dated Trent, 11th of January, forwarded to the Signory from Brescia by the Proveditor-General Hironimo da Cà da Pesaro.

On the 8th instant there passed through here one Richard Pace, ambassador from the King of England, on his way post to Rome, and according to report he will also go to Venice. It seems that

* On 14th November 1521 the Imperial Court was not at Ghent, but at Oudenarde.

† The Nuncio at the Imperial Court in the year 1521 was the prothonotory Marino Caracciolo, who remained there in that capacity until September 1522, when Pope Adrian appointed as his successor Don Bernardino Pimentel. In May 1523 Caracciolo, being still at Madrid entered the diplomatic service of the Emperor, who sent him immediately to Venice.

‡ On 25th December 1521 Charles V. was at Ghent

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if not the first in authority with the King of England, he is at least the second. He held a long conference here in Trent with the Duke [Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan], so we are of good cheer, persuading ourselves that the King of England is closely allied both with the Emperor and with the Duke.

The Emperor is intent on raising money at Ghent, whither he has caused the conveyance of a number of jewels of very great value, the property of Maximilian of Austria, of blessed memory.

From Trent, 11th of January 1522. Your good consort.*

Registered by Sanuto, 20th January.

Jan. 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 304.

393. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Four ambassadors have arrived from the King of France. They are charged to apologize for his not having, during the last few years, sent the pension which he is bound to pay to the King of England. He attributes the delay to the wars, and promises to send it. He excuses himself, secondly, for the Duke of Albany's having crossed over to Scotland, as this took place neither by his desire nor with his knowledge. Thirdly, the ambassadors assert that the French ambassadors who went to Calais did their utmost to effect an adjustment with the Emperor. In the fourth place they stated they were come to negotiate a truce and peace with the Emperor, but chose to see whether his ambassador had an ample mandate to that effect.

It appears that Cardinal Wolsey told them they [the King and Cardinal ?] had sent for the Duke of Albany,† the governor of Scotland, to make an arrangement, if the King of France pleased. If on the contrary the King wished for war, it should be waged. The Earl of Angus, husband of the Queen of Scotland [Margaret], has sent a messenger to the King of England to complain of the Duke of Albany.

London, 15th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 123, St. Mark's Library.

394. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 12th was told by the Chancellor that the Emperor could not believe his ministers had detained the Donata galley and the wine ship, save in consequence of some fresh event, and his Majesty had therefore inserted the clause. The Emperor was willing, however, to issue the letters without the clause, provided he (Contarini) gave the security of persons there in Flanders for full payment of the value of the vessels if, after their release, it should transpire that there was good reason to annul the safeconduct.

Offered to give any security in the Signory's name. The Chancellor said the Emperor declined the Signory's guarantee, as he could not exact it, but would take the pledge from merchants and private individuals. Proposed that the security should be given in London by the Venetian merchants. The Chancellor objected that, under a foreign jurisdiction payment could not be enforced, and security should be given either in Flanders or in Biscay.

* "Consorte," qu. gossip ?

† In the original,—"Et par il Cardinal li dicesse haveano mandato per dito Ducha di Albania."

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Replied that in Flanders and Biscay there were no merchants of Venice all of them being established in London. The Chancellor said the Venetian merchants in London could easily find persons in Flanders to promise in their name, and that such was the Emperor's firm resolve.

Then said to the Chancellor, "The Emperor has perhaps some particular suspicion, in which case let him insert an especial clause to the effect that if the galley and ship have done any damage to his Majesty's places or subjects, or plotted against his territories, then their cannon and sails be placed under embargo; for the clause objected to is so vague that it would authorize the detention of the galley by persons who perhaps seek an excuse for doing so, and prevent the galley from taking its turn (*muda*),—thus ruining both these voyages, and commercial interests in England."

Explained to the Chancellor the importance of these turns (*mude*), and what they signified. He replied, "It is impossible for us to know the cause, and therefore the Emperor does not choose the letters to be sent in any other form."

Finding further remonstrance useless, transmitted the Imperial mandates to the Ambassador Surian, in England, as no one could be found at Ghent to convey them through France into Biscay. Wrote also to the captain of the Flanders galleys, acquainting him with what had been done in the matter, and sending likewise the form of security required by the ministry at Ghent before they would give letters without the objectionable clause.

The mandates were addressed to the Council of Castile, and not to the captain and governors of Biscay, because that province depends on Castile.

Ghent, 15th January 1522.

[*Italian*, 4½ *pages*.]

Jan. 22. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 124, St. Mark's Library.

395. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Arrived at Brussels on the preceding Friday.

On Saturday morning the Emperor, while at mass, received an express from the Duke of Milan, with a letter dated at Trent, the 12th instant, announcing the arrival there of a courier from Rome, who had performed the journey in 50 hours, and brought news of the election of the Cardinal of Tortosa as Pope; wherefore the Duke congratulated the Emperor.

Having read the letter, the Emperor gave it for perusal to the bystanders, saying, "Master Adrian is made Pope."*

Three days then elapsed without any confirmation of this intelligence, so that the Emperor and the whole Court began to think it untrue, and that the Duke of Milan had been deceived, but on the evening of the 21st at 9 p.m. the Emperor was assured of the election by a letter from Don Juan Emanuel, his ambassador at Rome.

Instantly on that evening the Emperor caused all the bells in Brussels to be rung as a mark of rejoicing; and this morning he went to the Cathedral, where he had high mass chanted as thanks-

* "Maistro Adriano è fato Papa."

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giving for this boon; a Pope having been elected more devoted to his will than he himself could have desired.

Pope Adrian VI. was born at Utrecht, of the lowest parentage, and reared at Louvain, where he applied himself to literature. He subsequently became the Emperor's preceptor, and Dean of Louvain. Seven years ago he was sent ambassador to the late King Ferdinand the Catholic, in Spain, where he obtained the bishopric of Tortosa, and subsequently the red hat.

Considers it a miraculous circumstance that by so great a number of Cardinals assembled in conclave choice should have been made of one who was absent and scarcely known to them. The Pope is reported to be very religious and to abound in all good qualities. He celebrates mass daily, and performs all the duties of a virtuous prelate.

This morning he (Contarini) and all the other ambassadors went to congratulate the Emperor and the Infant [Archduke Ferdinand].

The Imperial ministry are despatching to the Pope an individual who transacts his affairs at the Emperor's court.

Transmits letters from the Ambassador Badoer in France addressed to him (Contarini) by Surian, and received through Spinelli, the English ambassador—Sir Richard Wyngfield—having gone back to England. Spinelli said the bearer of the letters came to Brussels in the company of a herald from the King of England. Has ascertained that the herald is on his way to the Switzers, probably to prevent them from helping the French to recover the Milanese. An ambassador from England to the Switzers is expected at Brussels in a few days.

The Hungarian ambassador has returned from England, where he was unable to obtain any aid; whereas the Imperialists have promised to succour Hungary with one-half of the troops voted to the Emperor for his coronation by the Diet of Worms, though nothing is decided about their immediate march.

Brussels, 22nd January 1522.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages*.]

Jan. 27. **396.** Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 341.

News has arrived of the election of Adrian VI., which Cardinal Wolsey takes amiss, as the Emperor did not aid him (Wolsey) to obtain the popedom. France and England have been [hitherto] ill disposed towards each other, but now, owing to this election, it is supposed that the King of England will attend to his amusements, by so much the more as the King of France has sent to tell him that he will not interfere with Scotland. In England there is a very great scarcity of bread and wine, which cost double the usual price, when any can be obtained.

Dated 27th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 28. **397.** Doge Antonio Grimani to Henry VIII.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta v. xlix. p. 62, tergo.

Thanks for the King's letter to the Emperor, requesting the release of a Venetian trading galley and a ship seized at St. Sebastian's. Compliments the King on his royal and heroic endowments, moral

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and physical; as also on the wealth and military repute of his kingdom; and requests protection for the Venetian traders and their goods in England.

Ayes, 161. Noes, 17. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin*, 27 *lines*.]

Jan. 28. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 63.

398. Doge Antonio Grimani to Cardinal Wolsey.

Can hear no more agreeable news from England than that Wolsey, who rules the country so prosperously, perseveres in his good disposition towards Venice; a fact recently confirmed by the readiness with which he had addressed letters to the Emperor for the release of the Venetian galley and ship detained at St. Sebastian's.

Considers it a source of congratulation to possess the goodwill of one who not only enjoys authority with his own King, but is also courted by many other potentates.

Ayes, 161. Noes, 17. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin*, 27 *lines*.]

Jan. 28. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta v. xlix. p. 63, tergo.

399. The Doge and Senate to Antonio Surian, Ambassador in England.

Have received his letters of 6th January, and commend the form in which he negotiated with the King and Cardinal.

Regret to hear of the accident which befell the Donata galley and the ship its consort in Biscay. Have seen the copy of the letters written by the King of England to the Emperor for their release, for which they enclose letters of thanks to the King and Cardinal.

Should the galley and ship not have been released when the ambassador receives the present missive, he is to inform the King and Cardinal that it was at their invitation that the Sate sent the galleys to England, and with the firm belief that the voyage would be made under their protection, as notified by the Cardinal heretofore to the Signory through the Venetian Ambassador [Sebastian Giustinian?].

Should any outlay be needed for this release, to desire the Venetian consul in London to assemble the Venetian merchants, and persuade them to disburse the sum required, placing it to the account of average payable by the said galley and ship.

Ayes, 31.

Amendment to the foregoing letter:—Should the ambassador understand that the Biscayans refuse to release the ships, he is to suggest that the King should declare to such Biscayans as may be in England with their ships and goods that he will make an hostile demonstration against them.

Ayes, 141. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 47 *lines*.]

Jan. 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 292.

400. The Governors of Brescia and the Proveditor-General Pesaro to the Signory.

Transmit advices; also news received at Mantua from the Imperial Court, that the Duke of Albany had entered Scotland

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pacifically as King, and that a matrimonial alliance would be contracted between the Emperor and the King of England.

Brescia, 29th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 30. **401.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 125. St. Mark's Library.

Details a long conference held by him with the Chancellor Gattinara about the negotiations for an adjustment between the Emperor and the Venetian Signory. In the course of the conversation Gattinara said to him:—

"Let the Signory be convinced that the Duke Francesco Sforza will remain in Milan, and of this (as written by us to our ambassador in Venice) we are willing to give the State valid security—even that of the King of England if they choose; and I, who am an Italian, seek and desire this for the liberty of Italy, for which the Emperor will hazard all he has, as likewise for the support of the interests of the Church, which is now suffering through spoliation."

On quitting the Chancellor, went to the Bishop of Palencia, who told him that the Emperor's voyage to Spain would certainly be made; that in a fortnight the Court would move hence to Bruges, then to Calais, and from Calais to England, remaining there a month, and then proceeding to Spain. The Chancellor, on the other hand, had said this was doubtful.

Brussels, 30th January 1522.

[*Italian, 6½ pages.*]

Jan. 30. **402.** The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 126. St. Mark's Library.

Told by the Bishop of Palencia that the Emperor has it in his power to make terms with the King of France, who is already weary of his present position of dependence on the King of England, the Signory, and the Switzers.

Informed today by the Papal Nuncio that the King of France has sent commissioners to Cambrai, and invited the Emperor to do the like, for the purpose of making an adjustment, which the Imperialists reject, solely on account (the Nuncio believed) of the King of England.

Brussels, 30th January 1522.

[*Italian, ½ page.*]

Feb. 3. **403.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 45.

Cardinal Wolsey, talking with him about the King of France, said: "The Signory leagued with France for the defence of her territory, and to be enabled to retain it; but it would be better for her to effect this through another channel, and make a league thus—the Emperor, the King of England, the King of Hungary, and the Signory, together with the future Pope; and be he who he may their Majesties will promise to make him join it." This league, however, was not to be against France, but for the [mutual] defence of territories.

Note by Sanuto, that a motion was made by the Sages, and carried, to answer Surian, sending him the clause in the league with France

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stipulating the mutual defence of the territories, and desiring him to show it to Cardinal Wolsey.

Three letters, dated 14th and 23rd January and 3rd February. *Registered by Sanuto 11th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 320.

404. GASPARO CONTARINI, to his Brother-in-law, MATTEO DANDOLO.

Supposes that through his (Contarini's) letters to the Senate, Dandolo will have heard that the new Pope was of the lowest parentage. His father was a carpenter, who from poverty abandoned him, and thus the future Pope was compelled to beg his bread from door to door. He was adopted by a person, whom he ever after called father, and at whose cost he obtained his first education. Subsequently he was instructed at the charge of the consort of Charles Duke of Burgundy.* She was in the habit of defraying the expenses of certain students in the university of Louvain. As one of them, he made considerable progress in philosophy and divinity, but was above all renowned for his morality and virtue. On this account, when the present Emperor had passed from childhood to youth, the late Emperor Maximilian summoned Adrian to Brussels, and appointed him tutor to the Archduke Charles. The probity of Adrian was already remarkable, and the Archduke named him secretary and privy councillor, and gave him a provostship in the cathedral of Louvain. He afterwards went ambassador to the Archduke's grandfather, Ferdinand of Spain, who made him Bishop of Tortosa, and obtained for him the cardinal's hat from Leo X., and finally, to the surprise of everybody, he has been created Pope.

Luther's sect gains strength in Saxony. This internal malady will be very prejudicial to the interests of Christendom.

Brussels, 3rd February 1522. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th February.*

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 3.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 128. St. Mark's Library.

405. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

When speaking about the mission of Dom. Philiberto [Naturelli ?]† to Cambrai with the Hungarian ambassador [Azalino], was told by him that it concerned private business, as the Emperor would never negotiate any agreement with France, save through the King of England.

Brussels, 3rd February 1522.

[*Italian, 1½ page.*]

* Charles the Bold took for his third wife Margaret of York, who died at Mechlin in 1503. The marriage ceremony of the sister of Edward IV. to the Duke of Burgundy was performed on the 3rd of July 1468, when the future Adrian VI. was nine years old: so the English princess may be said to have commenced her reign in Flanders with befriending one of the most virtuous individuals that ever ruled the Apostolic See. I believe this fact has not been recorded by any popular historian.

† Provost of Utrecht.

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406. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 129. St. Mark's Library.

Transmits letters from the Ambassador Surian in England, stating that Cardinal Wolsey had promised Surian that the King of England would give security for the Donata galley and the ship detained in Biscay. The Emperor required this security to be available either here in Flanders or in Biscay, and the Cardinal has given instructions accordingly to the new English ambassador now on his way to the Imperial Court. Understands he has already crossed the Channel, and will be at Brussels in two days, together with the English ambassador accredited to the Switzers.

Brussels, 4th February 1522.

[*Italian*, 1 *page*.]

Feb. 10.

407. The SAME to the SAME.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 130. St. Mark's Library.

On the evening before last two English ambassadors arrived at Brussels. One of them [Sir Robert Wyngfeld], destined to reside at the Imperial Court, is the brother of the ambassador who departed thence lately [Sir Richard Wyngfeld], and the other [Dr. William Knight] is on his way to the Switzers.

Yesterday sent them a message, announcing his wish to visit them as usual with regard to new ambassadors on their arrival at the Court, and also for the sake of learning what orders they had received from the King and Cardinal about "the Donata," one of the Flanders galleys now detained in Biscay. Although they refused to receive any visits until after their audience of the Emperor, sent his secretary today to the new ambassador resident, who said he had received no instructions respecting the galleys. Has not yet received the letter from Cardinal Wolsey alluded to in the accompanying despatch from Surian, and does not believe the Imperialists will be satisfied with the Cardinal's security.

The Emperor's voyage to Spain seems to have been procrastinated, owing to the present disturbances in Italy. Many are of opinion that he is attending their result.

On the 9th visited the Emperor's confessor (a Franciscan friar) and discussed the beneficial effects of peace between the Emperor and France. The confessor remarked that it occasionally happens after all human hope of some desired object is at an end, that the Almighty then effects it through some unexpected channel. Leaves the State to draw its own conclusions from these words.

Brussels, 10th February 1522.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages*.]

Feb. 11.

408. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 15.

Announces the death of the French ambassador [De la Bâtie ?] No honours were paid him at his funeral, which was attended solely by Surian. A new French ambassador has arrived.* He had audience of King Henry, and said he was going to Scotland to protest that unless the Duke of Albany departed thence he would be in disgrace with the Crown of France. He thus convinced the King and Cardinal of the goodwill of his most Christian Majesty towards England with regard to the affairs of Scotland.

† Qu. Mons. de Neufuy (or Neufville?). See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, Vol. III., Nos. 1998–1999.

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Has received the Emperor's letter to the Governors of Biscay about the release of the Flanders galley, and sent it to the captain, by whom it was forwarded to the master. The Cardinal declined to send the letter he (Surian) had written to the Emperor about this release, saying he would first of all see the result of the Emperor's own letter. Combated this resolve strongly, but in vain.

London, 8th and 11th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. **409.** Pope Adrian VI.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 308.

News from Trent, that on the 18th ultimo the Emperor, being at Brussels, heard of the election of Pope Adrian VI., and that he made great signs of rejoicing for this auspicious event. He immediately despatched a messenger to Spain. Subsequently a decision was formed in his Council for his voyage to Spain as soon as the weather served. He will leave a powerful army in Flanders, sufficient both for defensive and offensive operations against France, under the command of Madame Margaret and his brother Ferdinand. The latter is to be Vicar-General and Imperial Lieutenant of all Germany, the Emperor having resigned to him the duchy of Wurtemburg and county of Tyrol, besides the five provinces of Austria already given. It is certain the Emperor has made a good final arrangement with the King of England, and renewed the matrimonial alliance with him, all for the destruction of France. With the same object the King of England has sent an envoy to the Switzers, exhorting them not to stir at the request of any one, either in Italy or elsewhere, and assigning as a reason that he means to concert an adjustment in order to attack the Turk.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 13. **410.** Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library. Letter no. 131.

Visited the new English ambassador [Sir Robert Wyngfeld], who said he had no instructions concerning the galley and ship detained in Biscay.

The English ambassador destined for Switzerland [Knight] departed on the 11th instant.

Brussels, 13th February 1522.

[*Italian, 6 pages.*]

Feb. 14. **411.** The Same to the Same.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library. Letter no. 132.

Ths Bishop of Palencia told him that the Emperor firmly intended to go to Spain, either by way of England or Italy. Inquired which of the two passages he would take, as opinions thereon varied. The Bishop made answer, "Should he not change his mind, according to what has been settled hitherto, he will go by way of England; and let others say what they please."

Brussels, 14th February 1522.

[*Italian, 7 pages.*]

Feb. 14. **412.** The Doge and Senate to Vincenzo Priuli, Captain of the Flanders Galleys.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 67, tergo.

As his consort, the Donata galley, has been detained in the waters of Biscay, while he proceeded on his voyage with the other two

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galleys, desire him on his arrival at Hampton, should he not have been joined by the Donata galley, to commence notwithstanding the period of demurrage, according to the form of his auction contract.

On the expiration of the period of demurrage, should the third galley not be already released, or its arrival be delayed, he is then to remain at Hampton until the receipt of further orders.

Ayes, 182. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian*, 12 *lines*.]

Feb. 17. **413.** Visit of Charles V. to England.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 318.

Advices from Brescia, transmitted on 16th February by Hironimo da Chà da Pesaro, Proveditor-General for the Mainland.

The brother of the Bishop of Trent writes from the castle of Stenech, in date of 13th February, that several letters from the Imperial Court announce that the Emperor and his brother Don Ferdinand are of one mind. The Emperor has given Don Ferdinand all the countries (*paesi*) of Austria, all the countries (*paesi*) of the lake of Constance, the duchy of Brandenburg (*sic*), and the county of the Tyrol; and by consent of the Electors and Princes of Germany, the Emperor leaves him as Vicar and Imperial Lieutenant there.

In March the Emperor is going by sea to Spain. The ships have already arrived. A fleet for the voyage having been prepared in England, the King of France sent six persons to burn it, but they were taken beforehand and hanged.

The relationship (*parentela*)* has been concluded between the Emperor and the King of England, who, during the Emperor's absence, has undertaken to sustain the war against France in the Low Countries. The King of England has let the Switzers know that any affront (*dispiacere*) offered by them to the Emperor will be taken by him (the King) as a personal injury. The Emperor has sent ambassadors of rank to the Switzers to persuade them to desert France, but there is great dissension among them.

In Flanders a very small measure (*muid*) of wine costs 15 "*gros*." The mother of the King of France sent 50 carts of good wine as a present to Madame Margaret, requesting her to reconcile the Emperor to her son, and offering to do the like on her own part, but they have effected nothing whatever.

[*Italian*.]

Feb. 18. **414.** Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 106.

The Emperor is content to make a truce with the King of France. King Henry and Cardinal Wolsey are therefore endeavouring to effect it, and the ambassadors are in London, but the King of France insists on having his duchy of Milan.

Dated from the 11th to the 18th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th April.*

[*Italian*.]

* The marriage of the Princess Mary to the Emperor.

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Feb. 18.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 133.

415. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor has determined on going to England. Last Sunday the Count of Nassau, in his Majesty's name, announced this journey to all the gentlemen when at mass, and that it would be commenced on the 15th proximo, requiring all those who wish to follow his Majesty to look to their arms and horses. The Emperor promised to give them two quarters' salary,* of which they have not received one penny during the last nine months; and the third rate is to be paid them in England.

This journey of the Emperor's is supposed to be for the purpose of forming some alliance with the King of England, and obtaining money from him, there being, moreover, a report of the marriage of the King's daughter with the Emperor.

Some persons are of opinion that the Emperor will return to Flanders and go to Spain by way of Italy, but those of sounder judgment consider it certain that having gone so far as England he will continue his voyage from thence to Spain. This agrees with statements made by the Bishop of Palencia.

Brussels, 18th February 1522.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

Feb. 24.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 134.

416. The SAME to the SAME.

Yesterday the Emperor, together with his Spanish gentlemen, played at the cane game, in which his brother the Infant likewise took part. They were dressed in the Moorish fashion, and tilted first in the park, and then on the town square. It was a delightful sight.†

The preparations for the Emperor's journey to England seem to proceed slowly.

Brussels, 24th February 1522.

[*Italian*, 2½ *pages.*]

Feb. 28.
Misti Consiglio X. v. xliii. p. 122, tergo.

417. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Have this morning received letters from the Signory's ambassador in England, dated the 18th and 24th ult. By the former he announces a proposal made to him by Cardinal Wolsey for a league between the future Pope,‡ the Emperor, the King of England, the Signory, and others, no mention being made of France. In his second letter he writes that at another conference on the same subject, Wolsey told him he did not mean the league to be against any one, not even against the King of France, on whom he said the King of England did not intend to wage war, nor would the Cardinal ever counsel him to do so, unless compelled by extreme necessity; so that his intention was to form this league solely for the security and preservation of the confederates' dominions.

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* "Due page a conto della lor provisione."

† "*Fu delectevel spectaculo.*" An account of the cane game at Madrid, in 1649, is given in Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, p. 729, ed. Oxford, 1843.

‡ Adrian VI. was elected Pope, the 9th of January 1522.

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As this proposal is worthy of the knowledge of King Francis, desire the ambassador to impart it to the King and Madame, praying his Majesty to keep the whole very secret. The Signory's reply shall in like manner be communicated to the King, with whom they intend to maintain their alliance.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

Memorandum.—The letter was written on the 24th instant, a duplicate being sent, and it was in cipher.

[*Italian*, 19 *lines.*]

March 1. Senato Mar. v. xx. p. 1.

418. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate for payment of the following sums to Ludovico Falier, ambassador elect to the King of England.

Four months' salary for his own expenses and those of his attendants, at the rate of 120 ducats per month, according to the decree whereby he was elected - -	ducats	480
For horse furniture and trunks - -	„	30
For the purchase of 11 horses, according to the decree - - - -	„	150
For two couriers - - - -	„	40
Gift to the secretary as usual - -	„	30
Ducats -		730

Ayes, 166. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 8 *lines.*]

March 1. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 69.

419. The DOGE and SENATE to the CAPTAIN of the FLANDERS GALLEYS.

Have desired the Ambassador Contarini to obtain letters from the Emperor for the release of the galley and ship detained in Biscay, and furnished him with a letter from the Procurator Alvise Pisani, who thereby gave security in Flanders. Authorize him (the captain) to disburse in this affair from 1,500 to 2,000 ducats, to be passed to the account of average on the merchandise and freights of the galley and ship. Should the security given by Pisani not be for the full amount required by the Emperor, the Venetian merchants in England are to supply the deficit, the goods and freights of the Donata galley and ship being held accountable to those who give the security.

Ayes, 185. Noes, 6. Neutrals 3.

[*Italian*, 20 *lines.*]

March 1. Contarini's Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 135.

420. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor returned from Mechlin to Brussels on Wednesday. As it is now carnival time, he devotes himself to the pleasures of the season. He has ordered the performance on Sunday of a joust, in which he and the Infant will take part. Nothing more is said about his journey to England.

Brussels, 1st March 1522.

[*Italian*, 1 *page.*]

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March 5. **421.** TOMASO CONTARINI to GIUSTINIAN CONTARINI.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 55.

Yesterday letters were received from Spain from the new Pope, dated the 26th ultimo. He will accept the dignity, and endeavour to adjust the affairs of Christendom. He has confirmed the Marquis of Mantua as gonfalonier of the Church. The affairs of Spain are quieted and in a fair way. The Emperor's journey to England is doubtful.

Brussels, 5th March 1522. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 5. **422.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 136, St. Mark's Library.

Being yesterday with the Nuncio [Caracciolo] in the company of the English ambassadors [Sir Robert Wyngfeld and Sir Thomas Spinelli], was shown by them a letter from the English herald, dated Zurich, the 25th ult. This letter, however, they did not read, but they stated that the Switzers had received a protest from the Princes of Germany, to the effect that Milan was an Imperial "chamber," and therefore the Switzers must beware of what they are about. The English ambassadors also said that a Diet which had been convened was put off until the arrival of the English ambassador,—whose passage through Brussels he (Contarini) had already mentioned,—and that the Switzers who marched in favour of the French had returned home.

Last Sunday the Emperor jousted. On one side was his Majesty with eleven lords and gentlemen dressed in white, and on the opposite side the Infant [Don Ferdinand] with eleven others dressed in tawny. The Emperor excelled all his competitors, nor was there any one who came at all near him.* Such was the opinion of all present.

Yesterday they held a tournament, fighting in the Albanian fashion, first with spears and then with swords. In this encounter the Emperor likewise bore the palm, so that assuredly in his own person, whether in sitting his horse or in the use of his weapons, his Majesty did all that could be expected from an accomplished cavalier.

Returns thanks for having been appointed Sage for the Mainland.†

Letters have been received from Spain, but they make no mention of the Donata galley detained in Biscay.

Brussels, 5th March 1522.

[*Italian, 5 pages.*]

March 10. **423.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 128.

Conversations with Cardinal Wolsey, who hopes to conclude the truce, but the King of France would fain have the duchy of Milan. The Cardinal is negotiating for things to remain as they are, and

* "*Ne fu alcuno che ad una gran zonta se li acostasse.*"

† The appointment implied that the Republic was satisfied with Contarini. A similar compliment was paid to Giustinian whilst in England. (See his Despatches, vol. ii. p. 276, date London 28 June 1519.)

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the other matters to be discussed, as it will be easy to arrange about the Milanese.

London, 8th and 10th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 113.

424. Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in England, and Vicenzo Priuli, Captain of the Flanders Galleys, to the Signory.

Concerning the galley detained in Biscay, when Surian spoke about its release, Cardinal Wolsey told him he would not write letters for its release because* he had been desired to say nothing more about it, adding that the Signory need no longer send galleys on that voyage, as they come so poorly loaded that no profit is made thence in England as formerly. He also complained of the Signory for aiding the King of France to maintain the war against the Emperor. In reply justified the Signory's proceedings.

Dated London, 10th March, and Hampton, 17th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 13. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 138, St. Mark's Library.

425. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

During the last four or five days there has been no further talk of the Emperor's departure for Spain. Don Ugo de Moncada and the Master of the Horse departed hence on the 11th for Zealand, to inspect the fleet there and have it put in order.

The Chancellor, Gattinara, said the Emperor intended to be at the seaside on the 10th of April, but left it doubtful whether he would embark in Zealand or at Calais.

The Count of Nassau went lately to Antwerp to raise money for the payment of the two quarters' salary (2 *quartironi*) due to the gentlemen of the Court. The people of Antwerp offered him 70,000 florins, equal to 35,000 ducats.

Has heard on good authority that the Emperor in this his need asked the King of England for a loan of 200,000 ducats, reducing his demand subsequently to one-half of that amount. The King required security of some sort or another, the particulars of which were unknown to him (Contarini); but the result was that the Emperor declined doing anything further in this matter. The union therefore between these two sovereigns appears to be less close than is reported at Brussels.

Brussels, 13th March 1522.

[*Italian, 4 pages.*]

March 17. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 69.

426. The Doge and Senate to Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Received his letters dated 18th and 24th January and 3rd February, addressed to the Council of Ten, acquainting them with the league proposed by Cardinal Wolsey. Thank the King and Cardinal

* "*Li disse che 'l non volera far letere per la sua liberation perchè li era sta imposto silenzio più non parlasse di questo.*"

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for their proceedings in favour of the State. For many years the link between England and the Signory has been equal in strength to that which bound them to any other sovereign.

Their truce with the Emperor is maintained inviolate, and they desire to make peace with him. During the present disturbances they have taken no steps at variance with the truce.

Have always acted towards the King of France as bound by their confederacy, according to the articles, of which they enclose a copy for the ambassador's use.

Abhor strife and discord between the Princes of Christendom, and hope therefore that the Cardinal, who has undergone incredible fatigue and vigils in order to make peace between the Emperor and the King of France, will now bring the negotiation to an auspicious close, the times being now changed, and Pope Leo, who perhaps thwarted it,* having died. Wolsey can do nothing that would contribute so much to the glory of the King of England and himself. Christendom would then be preserved from its powerful and formidable enemy, Sultan Solyman.

Ayes, 151. Noes, 29. Neutrals, 10.

[*Italian*, 41 *lines*.]

March 17. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlv. p. 4, tergo.

427. NEGOTIATIONS with ENGLAND and FRANCE.

Motion in the Council of Ten and Junta for communicating to the Senate the letters of the ambassadors in England and France to the Council of Ten, and all other letters relating to this matter.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 11 *lines*.]

March 18. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 70, tergo.

428. The DOGE AND SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Have made answer to their ambassador in England with regard to the league proposed by Cardinal Wolsey, that so great was their respect for the King of France, that they consider themselves allied with him as much as with any other prince, and purpose remaining thus perpetually; that they observed their truce with the Emperor, &c. (as in No. 426).

Ayes, 175. Noes, 18. Neutrals, 11.

[*Italian*, 61 *lines*.]

March 18. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 48.

429. The SIGNORY to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

(Proposed by the Sages.)

The ambassador in England has written to the State, in date of —— January, that Cardinal Wolsey told him it would be well for the Republic, besides the truce now current with the Emperor, to make peace. The Senate replied they were content to make peace, such as existed before the war with the late Emperor Maximilian.

All this to be communicated by the ambassador to the King of France.

[*Italian*.]

* "*Che forse la difficultava.*"

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430. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 140. St. Mark's Library.

According to a statement made by the English ambassadors [Sir Robert Wyngfeld and Sir Thomas Spinelli] the ships of their nation have taken certain French vessels in the seas of Flanders, and when the French ambassador remonstrated, that this was an act of war, the King of England replied that if he purposed war, he should adopt another fashion, and that the ships had been captured for the freedom of navigation, as they belonged to corsairs, whose outrages in those harbours and seas were said not to have the consent of the King of France.

The King of England assumes the protection of the towns in Burgundy and Flanders, and promises to defend them against the King of France in case the Emperor goes to Spain; though at any rate it is said his Imperial Majesty will pass his Easter at Bruges.

Brussels, 19th March 1522.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

March 20.

431. The SAME to the SAME.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 141. St. Mark's Library.

Has received a missive from the State concerning the "Donata" galley detained in Biscay, desiring him to obtain fresh letters for its release, or to send duplicates and triplicates of the old ones.

Having heard from the captain of the Flanders galleys that he had forwarded the original letters to Biscay, it seemed desirable to await the reply, because in the present state of affairs between the Signory and the Emperor any steps taken would be fruitless. The most he could obtain would be duplicates of the original letters; nor could they be transmitted otherwise than through England, as the road by land is closed. The English ambassadors [Wyngfeld and Spinelli] have received no orders respecting the galley.

Brussels, 20th March.

[*Italian, 5½ pages.*]

March 22.

432. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. pp. 162.

King Henry is raising troops with all his might (*a furia*), and intends to invade Scotland.

London, 22nd March 1522. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 23.

433. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 142. St. Mark's Library.

The Ambassador Surian forwarded to him from England the accompanying letters from the captain of the Flanders galleys, who also wrote to him (Contarini) detailing the actual state of the "Donata" galley detained in Biscay. Therefore, contrary to the intention announced in his despatch of the 20th, he determined to discuss the matter with the Bishop of Palencia. Yesterday narrated to him the seizure of the wines and other merchandise, and how much the trade of Venice was injured by the detention of the galley at St. Sebastian's. Requested him to obtain peremptory letters from the Emperor to the officials in Biscay. The Bishop replied that the Emperor was not accustomed to write a second time to any of his subjects until after the receipt of their replies to his

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first letters, but requested him (Contarini) to draw up a memorial for the pardon of the pilots who accompanied the galleys, and who had been banished for life from their native towns on pain of hanging. The Bishop said it was true that owing to the disturbances in Biscay there might be some difficulty, but he believed the Emperor's letters would be obeyed. Perceiving that the Bishop considered the result doubtful, wrote to Surian that the King and Cardinal might greatly aid the matter by writing warmly about it to the Emperor, and giving orders in conformity to their ambassadors at Brussels.

The Bishop said the Emperor's departure would take place speedily, that his voyage to Spain was quite settled, that he would keep his Easter at Calais, or perhaps in England, and that Contarini must prepare for the Spanish voyage, offering him a ship for himself, and every other necessary convenience.

Brussels, 23rd March 1522.

[*Italian*, 3½ *pages.*]

March 23.

434. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 143. St. Mark's Library.

After receiving the reply about the "Donata" galley from the Bishop of Palencia proceeded to the Chancellor [Gattinara]. Told him what had been done by the Biscayans, and requested his advice how to obtain strong letters from the Emperor.

Announced that he had received the security for 3,000 ducats from the Procurator Alvise Pisani. The Chancellor said the security must be for appearance on trial and payment of the award, and that the galley was worth more than 3,000 ducats. Replied that the value was less than Gattinara supposed, but the loss greater on account of the rotation (*muda*), and of the performance of the voyage at a bad season. The Chancellor insisted that the security must be such as he had stated, and inquired how he (Contarini) could expect him to advocate the Signory's cause at the Imperial Council board after the obstacles raised by the Republic to the passage of the lansquenets through Valcamonica.

Brussels, 23rd March 1522.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

March 24.

435. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 134.

Including ships and galleons, King Henry has fitted out 32 sail to meet the Emperor, who, it is said, means to cross over to Spain, and will come to confer with the King of England.

London, 21st and 24th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 14th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 27.

436. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 145. St. Mark's Library.

Yesterday letters arrived from Italy, written by the Duke of Milan, in date of Piacenza the 15th, announcing that the French and Switzers were posted between Pavia and Milan; that he was expecting Janin de' Medici,* then on the march with 100 spears and 2,000 foot; and that on the arrival of this force the Duke purposed

* Giovanni de' Medici, *delle bande nere.*

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going out of Pavia (*sic*) and attacking the French camp, which was said to comprise the troops of the Signory, although, according to the last advices, they had made a show of crossing the Adda.

This the Imperialists took much amiss, and they were yet more disturbed by the contents of an intercepted letter, brought to them by this same post, from the King of France to the Signory, dated the 26th [February], returning thanks to the State for the loan of 25,000 crowns, and asking for as many more in the course of the present month, and also expressing his intention to follow the advice given him by the State to come into Italy.

This intercepted letter was received by the Papal Nuncio [Caracciolo] at Brussels, and read this morning at the Imperial Council board.

In consequence of these advices his secretary, when at the palace this morning, was pointed at by everybody, and could scarcely show his face. Prays God that the result be good, most especially at this moment on account of the Flanders galleys.*

It was reported this morning that the Emperor had determined to depart hence next Thursday, the 3rd of April, and is sending Don Ugo de Moncada back to Zealand with money to pay the masters of the ships, and to make the other necessary arrangements respecting the fleet.

Brussels, 27th March 1522.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

March 28.

437. Embassy to England.

Misti Consiglio X. v. xlv. p. 14, tergo.

Motion made in the Council of Ten and Junta, that, in conformity with the vote of the Senate passed on the 1st instant, 730 ducats be given to the nobleman Lodovico Fallier, ambassador elect to England, for his despatch thither, out of the fund set apart for the Signory's ambassadors.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 4 *lines.*]

March 30.

438. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 146. St. Mark's Library.

Yesterday the Chancellor Gattinara invited him to dinner, after which he reproached the State with her policy towards the Emperor, and produced three letters and an extract from a fourth.

The first was from the King of France to Doge Antonio Grimani, on parchment, with the royal signature, and countersigned by Robertet, dated the 27th of February, from St. Germain-en-Laye. Finding it inconvenient to remit money to Mons. de Lautrec at Milan, the King requests the Signory to send him 25,000 crowns, as in the course of March they should be repaid at any place appointed.

The King thanks the Doge for the good advice which Lautrec had imparted in the Signory's name, that his Majesty should go into

* This extract and the following one contain particulars which were communicated by Contarini to Surian, as stated in date 22nd April ; but as that letter itself does not exist in the Contarini copy book, its contents are given from the ambassador's narrative to the State.

1522. Italy for the preservation and increase of the territories of France and Venice. In accordance with this advice, the King purposed departing from St. Germain for Lyons in six or eight days, and proceeding thence into Italy. On this advice, and on the allusion to increase of territory, the Chancellor laid much stress.

The second letter was from the King to his ambasador in Venice, charging him to present the first letter, and to do his utmost to obtain the 25,000 crowns.

The third letter, from the King to Lautrec, alluded to his having already supplied him with 25,000 crowns through Venice, and stated that he should receive 25,000 more through the same channel. He also mentioned his intended departure for Lyons. This third letter was dated the 28th February.

Finally, the Chancellor showed him (Contarini) a paragraph from another letter to Lautrec, informing him that his Majesty had supplied the Duke of Urbino and Renzo da Ceri with 22,000 ducats, which would yield good fruit in that direction, and therefore Lautrec, on his part, was to render them every assistance. This paragraph was on a separate paper by itself. The Chancellor said the rest of the letter had been sent to Rome, as it concerned matters there, that the paragraph quoted relates to a plan for revolutionising the kingdom of Naples, and that the Imperial Government was already acquainted with the plots and agreements in course between the Signory and the King of France.

Pretended that this was the first he had heard of these intercepted letters, and suggested that the French might have sent these letters for the express purpose of their being intercepted. With regard to the 25,000 crowns, said he did not believe in its grant, as the Signory unwillingly incurred her present expenditure for the troops furnished according to treaty.

With regard to the advice given to the King of France to come into Italy, said that Lautrec was anxious for this, and had probably written that such was the opinion of the Signory, but the presence of the King would prove disastrous to the State.

Touching the kingdom of Naples and increase of territory, told the Chancellor he would wager 100 lives against the Signory's ever having dropped the slightest hint of the sort, and that the Doge had pledged his head for the interests of the Emperor, and was content to hold in peace his actual possessions.*

The Chancellor replied that, if the King went into Italy, the Emperor also would appear there in person, or send a great number of troops; and that the Republic had declared in favour of the French more warmly than was necessary, and had made fresh levies.

Rejoined that the State did less than she was bound to do by the treaty.

The Chancellor then used these words: "I desire the welfare and quiet of Italy, but I suspect you will procrastinate until the French receive such a blow as may make you wish for what will

* It is probable that this "increase of territory" signified the five ports of Trani, Brindisi, Otranto, Pulignano, and Gallipoli, of which Venice was deprived in 1509.

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then no longer be in your power, and then old stories will be revived."

The Chancellor said the Emperor would quit Brussels for Bruges before Easter, but many persons doubt this. The preparations are small, and the gentlemen [of the Court] have not yet received any money.

Encloses letters from the Ambassador Surian, dated the 26th, and one from the captain of the Flanders galleys.

Brussels, 30th March 1522.

[*Italian*, 4½ *pages*.]

April 4. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 148, St. Mark's Library.

439. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Last Tuesday the Emperor assembled the deputies of all the provinces of Flanders in the great hall of the palace. The Infant [Don Ferdinand] and Lady Margaret were also present. The Chancellor, in his name, thanked the deputies for the pecuniary subsidy conceded to his Majesty this last year by their Commons, owing to which good results had been obtained, namely, the capture of Tournai and the recovery of Milan, and informed them that having now to go into Spain, the Emperor desired to take leave of them, and left the government of Flanders to Lady Margaret, and that the King of England had assumed the protection of all those provinces.

The Flemings, from the highest to the lowest, regret this departure, but none more than the Emperor himself, as he has been born and bred in Flanders.

Brussels, 4th April 1522.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

April 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 124.

440. The SIGNORY to the AMBASSADOR SURIAN in England.

(Proposed by the Sages in the Senate.)

Reply to his letter concerning the complaints made by Cardinal Wolsey against the Signory, namely:—(1.) That the Signory is the power which gives money to France, and more than she is bound to give, and thus maintains the war in Italy. (2.) That the Signory has instigated the Turk to attack the King of Hungary, thus compelling the Emperor to send troops to assist him, as he is his brother-in-law, and this for the sake of preventing the Emperor from breaking the truce with the Republic. (3.) That an English merchant has been killed in the Venetian territory, and robbed of 40,000 ducats. (4.) That the Venetian galleys go to England empty, and cause the King more loss than profit. (5.) That they will not pay for the wools in ready money but by barter. (6.) That the wine measures are less than usual and the butts smaller, &c.

These charges were answered one by one, and confuted, and the letter clearly vindicated the Signory's rights. It was carried in the Council unanimously.

[*Italian*.]

April 8. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 76.

441. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

On the day before yesterday received his letters of the 23rd February and 13th and 16th March, containing sundry complaints

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made to him by Cardinal Wolsey. Are disquieted by the Cardinal's anger, as both by word and deed he has always favoured the interests of the State.

The accusation that the Senate had decreed an alliance with Sultan Solyman to the annihilation of the Emperor is absurd and impious. Venice has been the bulwark of Christendom against Turkish aggression, and protected the Apostolic See.

For the defence of Hungary her kings have been supplied by the Signory at various periods with upwards of 500,000 ducats.

As for the mission of a Venetian ambassador to the Turk, it has always been the custom of the State to send one to every new sultan, to congratulate him, and confirm ancient treaties, and Sultan Solyman had sent an ambassador to Venice, announcing his accession. The King of England, moreover, has approved the Signory's policy. In January last the Venetian ambassador [Marco Minio] quitted Constantinople on his way to assume the government of Candia, and the successor of the late "Bailo" is on the point of departure from Venice for the protection of Venetian subjects and merchants [in Turkey] as usual.

The report of a fresh treaty between Venice and the King of France, and of a loan furnished to him by the State, as acknowledgment for places promised them, is perfectly untrue. They did for the King of France what they were bound to do in virtue of the treaty.

The Signory has not given money, nor even the slightest military subsidy, either to Francesco Maria [Della Rovere, ex Duke of Urbino] or to the Baglioni family.

Deprecate the idea of their fomenting disturbances in Italy, as they have always sought peace and tranquillity among Christians, and especially a reconciliation between the Emperor and France. Desire peace with the Emperor.

Much documentary evidence could be afforded of deeds done by the Venetians heretofore in favour of the Apostolic See. Cardinal Wolsey had alluded to the triple league. When it was proposed for the defence of Pope Leo, the Cardinal deemed it mischievous, and urged the Signory to protract the negotiation. In accordance with the exhortations of so excellent and wise a Cardinal, they renounced the treaty, as appears by their letter to Surian, dated the 16th (*sic*, 19th?) of August 1521.

In reply to complaints on the part of the merchants, assure him their intention is to treat English merchants as lovingly as the native merchants of Venice.

Concerning that Englishman who is reported to have been plundered in the Venetian territory, and to have lost 40,000 ducats, it appears hardly credible that a single merchant should be the bearer of so considerable a sum. The circumstance had never reached their ears, yet they made inquiries through the Flemish and other merchants, but could not find that such a thing had ever happened.

The light cargoes of the Flanders galleys is occasioned by the scarcity of spices of late years, which proves more injurious to the State and her merchants than to anybody else.

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Desire him to respectfully announce all these replies to the King and Cardinal.

The Signory wishes all prosperity to both of them, nor could any greater additional distinction accrue to the Cardinal, than the reconciliation of the two crowns [Imperial and French] through his perseverence.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin*, 101 *lines.*]

April 10. **442.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 207.

The muster of forces now making in England is said to be for an attack on Scotland. Cardinal Wolsey is still endeavouring earnestly to effect a truce between the Emperor and the King of France, in the territories beyond Italy. Preparations are being made for the coming of the Emperor, who will most certainly come to England for an interview with the King, and then cross over to Spain.

London, the 10th of April, at the 16th hour. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 10. **443.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 149, St. Mark's Library.

In the course of a conversation the Bishop of Palencia said to him, "Believe me that in Italy, besides those already on our side, we shall moreover have other friends, nor am I alluding to yourselves." Replied, that apparently they had the whole of Italy. The Bishop rejoined, "I am speaking of foreigners," and then, after inculcating great secrecy, said to him positively, "I am speaking of the King of England, who, even in Italy, assists us with what we need, namely money, as we are most abundantly supplied with every other requisite for the war."

Was also told by the Bishop that they had letters from the Pope, dated the 16th of March, and that in the list of the galleys destined for his Holiness' voyage to Rome was comprised the Flanders galley detained at St. Sebastian's. "What," said Contarini, "the other day your lordship blamed the master, saying that the Pope had asked him for his galley, and received for answer that he could not give it without permission from the captain, to whom he had written. Has he now received an answer?" The Bishop replied, "Such was the intelligence given us at the time. Now, by these last letters, according to the list of the galleys, this one of yours is included among them. I can tell you nothing more."

According to general report, the Emperor's departure from Brussels will be delayed until after Easter.

Brussels, 10th April 1522.

[*Italian*, $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pages.*]

April 11. **444.** The "DONATA" GALLEY.

Senato Mar, v. xx. p. 10.

Decree of the Senate that as the Pope had availed himself of the "Donata" galley, for his voyage to Rome, and as the merchants of Venice had ordered the purchase of merchandise in England sufficient for the freight of all three of the galleys, therefore the master or

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partners of the "Donata" galley, with the consent and knowledge of the captain of the Flanders galleys, do hire one or two ships for the conveyance of such superabundant merchandise as may remain after completion of the cargoes of the two galleys, which are to await the said ship or ships in the port of Hampton during the whole of the month of May. Regulations concerning freight money demurrage, compensation, averages, &c.

An amendment was proposed.

For the original motion, 97. Kinsfolk excluded.

For the amendment: Ayes, 49. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian, 34 lines.*]

April 15. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 150, St. Mark's Library.

445. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 13th was told by the Chancellor that the Pope would certainly take the "Donata," and embark in it himself, because it was a safer vessel than any of the others. Does not know on what terms the Pope makes use of it.

The Emperor's departure for England is constantly postponed. It is said he will not depart hence until a fortnight after Easter. Many maintain that he will not quit Flanders this summer. The affairs of Italy, however, cause him thus to procrastinate, and he will regulate his departure according to their result. The Bishop of Palencia had asserted that the Emperor would go first to England, and then to Spain, but the Chancellor represents the voyage to be very doubtful. The gentlemen [of the Court] have not yet received any money.

Brussels, 15th April 1522.

P.S.—The ministry at Brussels, hearing of the descent of the 8,000 Switzers [into Italy] in favour of France, wrote off to the Tyrol for another levy of 10,000 lansquenets to descend in like manner. It is said the funds have been provided, but it is doubtful whether the men can be mustered so immediately, and the Imperial exchequer is quite exhausted. Unless England furnish the money, does not see whence it can be got.

[*Italian, 1½ page.*]

April 22. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 151, St. Mark's Library.

446. The SAME to the SAME.

On Good Friday received letters from the State, desiring him to obtain fresh safeconducts from the Emperor, for the navigation of the Barbary and Flanders galleys. Made the demand of the Chancellor yesterday, alleging the advantages and profit derived from these voyages by his Majesty's territories, which were chiefly engaged in similar traffic. The Chancellor said he would speak about them to the Emperor. Proposed going to the Emperor in the afternoon. The Chancellor desired him not to give himself that trouble, as in the morning his Majesty had taken a slight purge.

The English ambassadors [Sir Robert Wyngfeld and Spinelli] spoke to him (Contarini) lately about the intercepted letters written by the King of France to the Signory, with regard to the money demanded by him of the State, and his coming into Italy. On this subject they expressed themselves with great warmth, saying that the State

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showed itself more in favour of France than was becoming, and that but for Venice the French would already be out of Italy. From this language the State may infer what is the disposition of their sovereign, with respect to the King of France, against whom they would not express themselves so freely, unless they knew their master's mind.

As these intercepted letters will probably be communicated to the King and Cardinal in England, has forewarned the Ambassador Surian.

Forwards letters from Surian, the Captain of the Flanders galleys, and the Venetian merchants in London.

Brussels, 22nd April 1522.

[*Italian*, 5 *pages*.]

April 24. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 153, St. Mark's Library.

447. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 23rd sent his secretary to the Chancellor to inquire about the safeconducts. The Chancellor said he had been unable to mention the subject to the Emperor, who, on St. George's Day [23rd April], attended divine service in honour of the English Order of the Garter.

Went today to the palace, where the Emperor was attending mass in his private chapel. Conversed with the Bishop of Palencia, who in reply to his protestations that the Signory remained staunch to the Emperor, said, "You are deceived, for I likewise have been an ambassador, and noticed that when one power means to break with another, the first person imposed upon is the minister resident with the prince whose friendship is about to be renounced. Thus did King Ferdinand the Catholic when he made the truce with France,* for the first person he deceived was his own ambassador resident with the King of England. You wish to make the King of France supreme in Italy, and we are firmly resolved to obtain supremacy here in Burgundy. There are also other things which the King of France might give us. Remember that you drew Maximilian into the league of Cambrai by the hair of his head."

On the conclusion of the mass, requested the Emperor to prolong the safeconducts, which would expire in a few months, and alleged the advantages which would accrue to such of his Majesty's ports as the Venetian galleys frequented. The reply proved that the Chancellor had already spoken to the Emperor on the subject, and advised him to deny the request.

The Emperor said,—"The other safeconducts have still some time to run. During the interval I shall wait and see how the Signory proceeds, and act accordingly. It is not possible for the Signory at one and the same time to content two such very great enemies as the King of France and I.† Should the Republic be against me, I do not think fit to give her safeconducts; if my friend, she will

* In the year 1514; see Hume (vol. iii. p. 94), who quotes Petrus de Angleria, a Lombard; but this Bishop of Palencia, Pedro Ruiz de la Mota, was a born Spaniard, and his testimony is therefore more authentic.

† "*Non è possibile che quella Signoria satisfaci in uno medesimo tempo a dui che sij "non grandissimi inimici insieme come il Re di Francia et io.*"

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not need them, as the navigation of her vessels in our waters will be secure."

Endeavoured to give assurance of the Signory's obsequiousness towards the Emperor, who rejoined, "I look at the Republic's deeds, which with regard to me are very sorry;" * and thereupon he entered his chamber.

Brussels, 24th April 1522.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

April 28. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 154, St. Mark's Library.

448. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 26th, when in the Emperor's chamber (having been invited to accompany him to mass at the cathedral), the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Spinelli, said to him in the presence of his colleague [Sir Robert Wyngfeld], and of the Nuncio, that the Emperor understood a place of his, called Postoina, had been surrounded by 10,000 Turks, adding, "and they passed through your territories,† where they did no damage whatever, a proof that they did not come without your connivance." These words, replete with that spite and ill-will which Spinelli bears the Signory, were uttered in a very vehement voice. Answered him that he ought not to form such an idea of the Republic, which had never failed to defend Christendom with the blood and treasure of her citizens, and with the loss of many of her towns and places, and that if the Turks were under Postoina the State would greatly regret the fact. Mentioned that during the past months the Signory had constantly warned the Emperor and other sovereigns of Sultan Solyman's preparations against Christendom, but no credence was conceded to their notices. Calmly and earnestly endeavoured to rid the bystanders of so evil an impression.

Having been thus apostrophized by Spinelli, complained to the Chancellor of this report. The Chancellor said the intelligence received by the Imperialists did not purport that the Signory had sent for the Turks; but that inference was drawn because, when the Emperor's ambassador at Venice announced their march, the State did not appear to hold it in much account.

Rejoined that in taking defensive measures against the common enemy, the Signory was compelled to avoid arousing suspicion, as in the end Venice would have to bear the brunt single handed, as had frequently been the case, and that it was impossible for the Venetians to make any resistance against 10,000 cavalry in the open field. Moreover that during last year he had often, even with some importunity, communicated to the Chancellor advices from the State concerning these Turkish preparations, which appeared to be disregarded, and malicious persons like Spinelli declared them fictitious.

Then carried his complaints to the Bishop of Palencia, who answered in a very different tone, saying that the Florentine Spinelli

* "*Io vedo le opere di quella molto triste verso di me.*"

† Postoina is situated three or four leagues from the rivers Vipach and Isonzo, which separated the territory of Carniola from the Venetian Friuli.

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was a madman and foul-mouthed;* and that really neither the Emperor nor any other person of intelligence believed the Signory had induced the Turks to attack Christendom, adding, "Yet are you the cause of this mischief, through the assistance given by you to the French in the affairs of Italy."

Asked the Bishop about the Emperor's departure. He replied they were expecting an English ambassador, who quitted London last Saturday, was coming post haste to Brussels, and is the identical Englishman who was ambassador there last winter [Sir Richard Wyngfeld], brother of the resident ambassador [Sir Robert Wyngfeld], Spinelli's colleague.

When talking with the Chancellor, mentioned how desirable it it would be to make peace between the Emperor and France. He said the affair was in the hands of the King of England.

Brussels, 28th April 1522.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages.*]

April 28. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 155, St. Mark's Library.

449. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Chancellor, after telling him that the agreement between the Emperor and France was in the hands of the King of England, added that the affair had been communicated to Surian. Supposes this was an allusion to the league proposed to Surian by Wolsey.

Said he knew nothing about it, and that doubtless the news had reached Gattinara from England. The Chancellor rejoined, "We had the intelligence from Venice, and the Emperor receives advices from an individual who has a seat in your Privy Councils (*Consegli Secreti*), through whom we know to a ducat the amount of money given by you to the King of France."

Brussels, 28th April 1522.

[*Italian*, ½ *page.*]

May 1. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 156, St. Mark's Library.

450. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

Has received the Signory's letters with the copy of its letter to Surian, and the account of the seizure of the Emperor's courier by the Count Ugo de' Pepoli.

According to the third missive, of 12th April, forwarded its enclosures to the captain of the Flanders galleys.

The Emperor is expected to quit Brussels tomorrow.

Brussels, 1st May 1522.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

May 3. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 157, St. Mark's Library.

451. The SAME to the SAME.

The Emperor departed hence yesterday.

The English ambassador [Sir Richard Wyngfeld], who had been expected at Brussels, would meet the Emperor at Bruges.

Brussels, 3rd May 1522.

[*Italian*, 1 *page.*]

* "Un pazo et licencioso nel parlar."

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April 29. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 133, St. Mark's Library.

4429. GRATIFICATION to the CONSTABLE OF TEX.

The Chancellor, after telling him that the agreement between the Emperor and Ferrara was in the hands of the King of England, added that the affair had been communicated to Surian. Suppose this was an allusion to the league proposed to Surian by Wolsey.

Said he knew nothing about it and that doubtless the news had reached Cattinara from England. The Chancellor rejoined, "We had the intelligence from Venice, and the Emperor receives advices from an individual who has a seat in your Privy Council (Consejo Secreto), through whom we know to a ducat the amount of money given by you to the King of France."

Brussels, 29th April 1522.

[Italian, ½ page.]

May 1. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 136, St. Mark's Library.

4430. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

Has received the Signory's letters with the copy of its letter to Surian, and the account of the actions of the Emperor's courier by the Count Ugo de' Pepoli.

According to the third missive, of 12th April, forwarded its enclosures to the captain of the Venice galleys.

The Emperor is expected to quit Brussels tomorrow.

Brussels, 1st May 1522.

[Italian, 1½ pages.]

May 3. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 137, St. Mark's Library.

4431. The SAME to the SAME.

The Emperor departed hence yesterday.

The English ambassador [Sir Richard Wyngfield], who had been expected at Brussels, would meet the Emperor at Bruges.

Brussels, 3rd May 1522.

[Italian, 1 page.]

* "De paso el ilustrissimo mi padre."

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May 6.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 158, St. Mark's Library.

452. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Departed from Brussels on the 5th, and today reached Antwerp. The Emperor has gone to a place midway between Antwerp and Ghent.

Sir Richard Wyngfeld, who was to have awaited the Emperor at Bruges, has come on to Antwerp, where great honour was paid him by the Emperor, who sent the Governor of Bresse to escort him from his dwelling and back again after audience of his Majesty.

Is certain that Sir Richard Wyngfeld brought the Emperor money. The sum is represented to be considerable. The Imperial ministry transmitted part of it into the Tyrol for the payment of the 10,000 infantry now being raised there; and the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy] will take part with him to Naples.

The marriage of the Princess of England to the Emperor is concluded; and the King is to send a gentleman to France to intimate the repudiation of her marriage to the Dauphin.

The Imperialists are in high spirits, and especially on account of the good news received from Italy.

Transmits letters from the Ambassador Surian, to whom he will forward the two packets just received from the Signory.

Antwerp, 6th May 1522.

[*Italian*, 1¾ *page.*]

May 7.

File No. 5. Signed Letters, Chiefs of the Council of Ten.

453. The CHIEFS of the TEN to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

On the 11th of July 1510 it was decreed by the Council of Ten that no ambassador, proveditor, governor, or others employed out of Venice for the Republic should write on State affairs to any individual here, except the Signory, under penalty of 500 ducats and privation of their offices.

This decree the Council of Ten now confirms. No member of the college in Venice to write to any governor, proveditor, ambassador, or other representative of the State, any report of the discussions in the College. The same rule to be observed by all members of the Council of Ten and of the Senate, under penalty of 100 ducats each.

Signed:—Julianus Gradonico, C.C.X., Donatus Marzelo, C.C.X., Dominicus Capelo, C.C.X.

Memorandum.—The [secretary?] Pietro Brixiano to insert this letter in the commission given to all the Signory's governors.

[*Italian*, 25 *lines.*]

May 9.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 237.

454. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The French troops have marched to the borders of Spain. It is reported in England that the Emperor will not quit Flanders so speedily. The negotiation for the truce between the Emperor and the King of France in the territories north of the Alps (*le cosse di là*) continues.

Dated 9th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd May.*

[*Italian.*]

1522.
May 11.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 159, St. Mark's Library.

455. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On that morning, at mass in the Cathedral, acquainted the English ambassador Spinelli with the information received from the Signory concerning the Turks, and vindicated the State from the accusations of that Florentine.

Spinelli answered much more civilly than was his wont, saying that he bore no particular hatred to any one, though he certainly had a general detestation of the French, on account of their evil practices; and that in the days of the late Emperor Maximilian, when accredited to the Lady Margaret, he, by order of his King, had performed sundry good offices for the Signory,* which ought, he said, at length to attend to the welfare of Italy and adhere to the Emperor.

The Emperor is to quit Ghent tomorrow, and will stop half way between this city and Bruges, where he is to arrive on Tuesday or Wednesday. Will follow him.

Ghent, 11th May 1522.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

May 13.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 160, St. Mark's Library.

456. The SAME to the SAME.

Has just arrived at Bruges, simultaneously with the Emperor. Received there the accompanying letters from Surian and the captain of the Flanders galleys, announcing the arrival off England, at St. Edward's (San Doardo), of the "Donata" galley, which had been detained in Biscay. Has consigned the letters for transmission to the Imperial postmaster. There is a report at Bruges of an order from the King for the arrest of all Frenchmen in England.

Bruges, 13th May 1522.

[*Italian, ½ page.*]

May 16.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 252.

457. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The King of England has sent a herald to the King of France to declare war against him, and has despatched 20,000 infantry across to Calais. He has also detained the Signory's Flanders galleys, and would not allow the captain, Vicenzo Priuli, and the masters to depart. Cardinal Wolsey said the King chose to detain them from fear of their being captured by corsairs, and was also apprehensive lest they should join the French fleet and impede the passage to Spain of the Emperor, who had written to him about these galleys; but the King would dismiss them on the Emperor's arrival in Spain. He has likewise detained all the French merchants in England, and their effects. It is understood that the galley of Antonio Donado, in harbour at St. Sebastian's, has been allowed by the Pope to proceed on its voyage. It has apparently been blockaded by seven galleons and 12 Spanish barks, notwithstanding which it has arrived at Hampton.

London, — to 16th May, in cipher.

* These good offices were probably understood to have been performed in 1513, when Spinelli was at Lisle and Termonde, as appears by his letters in vol. VI., "State Papers," pp. 23, 25, 27.

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These letters were forwarded from Lyons on the 26th of May by the Ambassador Badoer, who announced the arrival there of an ambassador from the King of England, but did not state the cause of his mission.

Registered by Sanuto, 5th June.

[*Italian.*]

May 16. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 161, St. Mark's Library.

458. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Yesterday thanked the Emperor for the letters written by him to Biscay, saying they had taken effect, as the Flanders galley detained at St. Sebastian's was at liberty. The Emperor made no reply, but his gesture on receiving this intelligence indicated astonishment, and he appeared not much to relish it.

Acquainted the Emperor in the next place with the contents of the Signory's letter concerning the attack on Postoina by the Turks, and the damage done by them. The Emperor rejoined, "But how is this? for here it is said that they were sent for by the Signory, who is so much my friend that she instigated them to ravage my territories; and that they did no damage to the Venetian places." Replied that the Turks had sounded the Isonzo, with the intention of crossing into the Friuli to lay waste that province, which was spared merely because the enemy had not reached so far. The Emperor then said, "I do not believe the accusation, but in truth thus has it been reported."

Contradicts the news of the arrest of the French in England.

Bruges, 16th May 1522.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

May 19. Misti Consiglio X. v. xlv. p. 32.

459. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME.

By his letters of the 13th instant, are acquainted with what was told him by the Reverend English ambassador [Dr. Clerk]* concerning the good offices of the King of England in favour of the State. Is to tell him, in their name, that his offers are most agreeable to them, and that what they have done for him, or his, is much less than they would do at any time when the opportunity presented itself. Is also to testify to the extreme respect they bear to King Henry, as borne by them towards his ancestors, and that they desire the increase and glory of England, in which respect they do not yield to any other power.

Desire the English ambassador's good offices in favour of the State.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 48 lines.*]

May 20. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 162, St. Mark's Library.

460. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Announces the receipt of orders from the State to show the Emperor in secret the articles of the Signory's alliance with France, and receive his commands thereupon.

Went first of all to the Bishop of Palencia, who said he had the like from the Imperial ambassador at Venice. Read to him the

* Richard Pace was also at Rome at this time.

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last of the 17 clauses. The Bishop remarked that they now needed many alterations, and that mention must be made of the perpetual expulsion of the French from Italy.

Then went to the Chancellor, and communicated the transmission of the clauses. The Chancellor replied, "I know not for what purpose the Signory has sent these clauses." Said they had been sent in conformity with an injunction received from the Bishop of Palencia, in the name of the Emperor, who wished to see them, for the purpose of coming to some good arrangement by augmenting or curtailing them. To this the Chancellor replied, "I do not believe the Bishop of Palencia told you this by the will and commission of the Emperor, though it was indeed said that in order to ascertain whether the Signory had exceeded the obligations incurred by her, through the alliance, the Emperor wished to see the clauses. Should your Republic, however, wish to come to an agreement, she must speak in another form. You are well aware of what I told you heretofore concerning the negotiations with Maximilian, who was a much smaller sovereign than the present Emperor. You have given the King of France thousands and thousands of ducats beyond the amount to which you were bound. We have incurred great expense. You must speak, I tell you, in another tone. This present step taken by the Signory is a method of procrastination, and not for the sake of making peace or an agreement."

Contarini answered respectfully that, unless he was drunk at the time,* the Bishop gave him this commission, which he (Contarini) considered suitable and advantageous for both parties. Suggested that the Chancellor should devise some more suitable plan. The Chancellor replied, "We shall go to England, whose King will prove a good mediator, and promise on behalf of the Emperor." Made answer that the State required no further guarantee than the Emperor's own promise, nor any other mediation than that of the Chancellor himself, who had always had the Republic's interest at heart. Then took leave of him, being much dispirited.

Early on the following morning (having passed a sleepless night) went to the Bishop of Palencia with the determination of negotiating in another fashion (*a la roversa*), being aware that the failure of this negotiation proceeded from the firm belief of the Imperialists that the Signory offered nothing but words, and was heartily French, for often had the Bishop said to him, "You are not French, but arch-French."† On another occasion he said, "There are more Frenchmen at Venice than in Paris."

On arriving at the Bishop's lodging, found him in bed. Said he had been much shocked by the Chancellor's language. Adduced arguments to prove how much this peace would benefit both the Emperor and Venice. Announced the orders contained in the ducal missive of the 4th, which *preceded* the retreat of the Switzers and the capture of Lodi, so much to the disadvantage of the French.

The Bishop interrupted him, saying, "Did you tell the Chan-

* "Se non era alhora imbrago."

† "Vui sete non Fransesi ma Fransosissimi."

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cellor this?" Answered in the negative, and said that if the original proposal were changed the Republic would take the alarm, and doubt the sincerity of the Imperial Cabinet. The Bishop rejoined, "Don't distress yourself; be easy, for I will go now directly and speak with the Chancellor."

Subsequently met the Bishop at the Court. He had spoken to the Chancellor, and desired him (Contarini) to do the like both with the Chancellor and with the Governor of Bresse.* Did so.

Details the arrangements made by him with the Chancellor for the negotiation of a treaty between the Emperor and the Signory. The Chancellor's tone was much lower than on the preceding day. As to the proposal made by the Emperor, which he then denied, he said that it had since been confirmed to him by the Bishop of Palencia.

Bruges, 20th May 1522.

[*Italian*, 9 *pages*.]

May 22. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 163, St. Mark's Library.

461. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

This afternoon acquainted the Emperor with the commission received from the Signory concerning the treaty of alliance.

The Emperor replied, "Ambassador, I have always been very desirous of making some good agreement with the Signory. The Chancellor has informed me of your negotiations with him. I regret your having been too late; for earlier in the day a more advantageous adjustment might have been effected. Let the State, however, come to a decision, for on my part there will be no remissness."

All the energies of the Imperialists are directed to the expulsion of the French from Italy. It is the Chancellor who mainly exhorts the Emperor to attack them in Italy, and being an Italian he claims the merit of having freed his country from the barbarians. The King of England likewise appears to favour this policy,† being of opinion that he will thus humble France without aggrandizing the Emperor.

Should the Signory think fit to pursue the negotiation for peace whilst the truce is yet current, a special account should be sent him of all the rights of the Republic, coupled with counsel's opinion by some famous jurisconsult.

Has taken leave of the Lady Margaret, who will remain at Bruges until she hears of the Emperor's departure from England, when she will return to Mechlin. She said the Emperor was desirous of peace with the Signory.

The Emperor will depart hence tomorrow, and on Sunday will be at Calais, where 2,000 English have already arrived, and as many more are expected, for the purpose of convoying him across. Some persons maintain that this is the commencement of a muster of troops destined for an attack on France.

Bruges, 22nd May 1522.

[*Italian*, 4½ *pages*.]

* The Governor of Bresse was the brother-in-law of the Chancellor Gattinara, and one of the chief ministers of Charles V. at this period. Like Gattinara he was a Piedmontese.

† Qu., that of placing Francesco Sforza in the duchy of Milan.

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May 28.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 164, St. Mark's Library.

462. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 23rd the Emperor quitted Bruges, and stopped that evening at Newport. On Saturday he proceeded to Dunkirk, and on Sunday he arrived at Calais. On Monday his Majesty embarked and had a good passage, for in about three hours he came from Calais to Dover.

Cardinal Wolsey was waiting for him on the sands with a great number of English gentlemen.

The King of England is at Canterbury, but expected at Dover this evening to meet the Emperor, who will not depart hence until the arrival of his horses and baggage, the passengers alone having come across, and everything else being left behind.

Yesterday at Calais received the accompanying letters from Surian, dated ———, and at Dover others of the 23rd. Consigned them to the postmaster.

Dover, 28th May 1522.

[*Italian*, ½ *page.*]

May 31.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 165, St. Mark's Library.

463. ANTONIO SURIAN and GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The last letter of me, Antonio, was addressed on the 29th instant to the Signory, to whom I, Gasparo, wrote on the 28th.

On the evening of that day the King of England, with part of his lords and gentlemen (having left the rest of them here), arrived at Dover to meet the Emperor. He came just as the Emperor was about to sit down to supper. So sudden was the announcement of the King's arrival, that the Emperor had scarcely time to meet him at the foot of the stairs of the palace, which is situated within the castle. The two sovereigns then doffed their bonnets and embraced, remaining thus for the space of two "*misereres.*" After the exchange of many loving terms they again clasped themselves in each other's arms.

This done, the Emperor turned towards the gentlemen who had accompanied the King, greeting each of them graciously. The King on his part did the like by those who had come with the Emperor to the foot of the stairs. On reascending them, and entering the palace, the Emperor wanted to give the King the upper hand, to which he would never consent, but placed himself to the left of the Emperor. They went thus arm in arm to the hall where the table had been prepared for supper.

They remained talking there in the presence of Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of Durham for some twenty minutes, when the King withdrew into a chamber, leaving the Emperor and the Cardinal, who then sat down to supper together.

The accommodation at Dover being bad, we proceeded to Canterbury, but returned to Dover on the 30th May at 10 a.m., knowing that on that day the Emperor was to make his entry into Canterbury, and wishing to accompany him. We were the only two ambassadors who paid him this compliment, the Papal Nuncio [Caracciolo] and the whole of the Imperial court having preceded him to Canterbury, where they had fixed their residence.

On arriving at Dover on Friday, the 30th of May, the morrow of Ascension Day, we found that the Emperor was gone on board

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the King of England's costly (*richa*) and very large ship,* with his Majesty, to inspect it. So availing ourselves of the opportunity we visited Cardinal Wolsey, who received me, Contarini, most graciously, and told us he must subsequently have a long conference with us, adding, "Should the Signory choose to act in concert with my King, and follow our advice—that is to say, his Majesty's and mine—the result will prove to the profit and glory of the State."

We then accompanied the Cardinal to the sands, and found that the Emperor and the King had already landed and were on horseback there. We first presented ourselves to the Emperor, who embraced me, Surian, warmly; and I, Contarini, can assure the Signory that I never saw the Emperor greet any one more lovingly. We next addressed the King, who, when I, Contarini, was in the act of presenting myself and doffing my bonnet, spurred his horse forward to meet and embrace me. We can therefore assure your Highnesses that we were well and cordially received by both the sovereigns, who then rode towards Canterbury, being accompanied almost solely by English lords and gentlemen (who were, however, in great number), the only two ambassadors being ourselves. Among the Emperor's attendants were the Duke of Alva, the Prince of Orange, and the Marquis of Brandenburg.

On entering Canterbury at sunset they were met by all the clergy, and the Emperor was placed under the canopy on the King's right hand, Cardinal Wolsey being a little in advance of their Majesties, because, as Legate, he gave the benediction. With these ceremonies they went first to the church† and then to the Archbishop's palace, which had been prepared for the Emperor, where, after many loving compliments exchanged mutually, the two sovereigns took leave of each other.

This morning the King went to escort the Emperor from the palace, and they proceeded together to mass to St. Thomas's Cathedral. Whilst the mass was being celebrated, and we were in attendance on their Majesties, Cardinal Wolsey, who had withdrawn into one of the chapels of the cathedral, sent the Admiral, the Earl of Surrey, to fetch us to him, and on our appearance, said as follows:—

"*Domini Oratores*, I have sent for you to let you know that my King, as notified by me the other day to you, Messer Antonio [Surian], is anxious to do his utmost to honour the Emperor, and to secure his passage to Spain. For this purpose he wishes for your galleys now at Hampton, on board of which, as the Admiral told you, he desires to leave but 100 of your mariners in each, making good the deficiency with our own people, besides the Emperor's gentlemen who are accompanying him."

Knowing perfectly well that the English were determined to make use of these galleys, that they would take them despite all arguments to the contrary, and that any opposition would tend

* The "Henry Grace a Dieu." See Hall, p. 365.
† Christ's Church. See Hall, as before.

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merely to excite anger, we therefore told the Cardinal that the wish of our Signory was to oblige the King and the Emperor in all things possible; but with regard to these galleys, we said they were not of such a sort as possibly had been supposed, being adapted solely to the stowage of merchandise; that it was requisite to man them with a very limited crew, and other officials, without whom they were not seaworthy, and by placing on board of them mariners unaccustomed to similar vessels they would be of no use; and that the English sailors would not comprehend the language of the Venetians. We also said that as two of the galleys were loaded, it could not but prove very detrimental to the Venetian merchants to unload them; and to avoid the loss of money and time which would be caused by their returning to England to load, they might go as they are, and the goods remaining for stowage on board the third galley might be distributed among the ships appointed to accompany the Emperor to Spain, and be transferred to the galleys on arriving there.

Cardinal Wolsey said instantly that this could not be done; but with regard to diminishing the crews, he gave directions for the Admiral [the Earl of Surrey] and Sir Richard Wyngfeld to confer with the captain of the Flanders galleys and the Venetian merchants; and should it be found 100 men would suffice, that number to be embarked, or more if necessary, even to the full amount of the present crews. The Cardinal promised in the name of the King to guarantee the galleys against all injury.

Perceiving this to be Wolsey's determination, we could only reply that we referred ourselves to the pleasure of the King and Cardinal, trusting that they would decide as if the galleys were their own property.

We expressed ourselves thus, as we were aware that the seizure had been determined on; and we therefore deemed it much better that the galleys should be given with the apparent consent and good will of the Signory than ungraciously.* Considering the nature of the present times, and the business on hand, we intend on the first opportunity to offer the Flanders galleys to the Emperor in person, and thus make a present of what we are unable to sell,† especially as we have been told by Wolsey that this grant of the galleys as convoy for his Imperial Majesty would be no less appreciated by him than by the King of England, and would benefit the negotiation on foot between the Emperor and the Signory.

This negotiation, the Cardinal said, had been communicated to him by the Emperor, and as some of its conditions appeared harsh to him, he was endeavouring to soften them, and hoped to succeed, being very well skilled in that art;—these were his precise words. He therefore desired us to go in advance of the King and himself to Greenwich, where he would confer with us at full length, and mention what would profit the affair.

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* "Parene molto meglio che le habino, monstrando cum contento et voluntà di V. Stà., che al contrario cum desgratia loro."

† "Donando quello non potemo vender."

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This morning I, Contarini, was informed by the Bishop of Palencia that 4,000 infantry were expected hourly in England from Spain, it being intended (according to report) to employ them in Flanders. The Nuncio told us that 4,000 more English were to cross over to Calais.

The envoy from Madame Louise, the mother of the King of France, is understood to have arrived at Boulogne with the ultimatum concerning the truce, which will probably be rejected, owing to what has taken place in Italy.

This afternoon the Emperor and the King went together to Sittingbourne, in the direction of Altr [Eltham?], the present residence of the Queen. They will remain there one or two days, and proceed thence to Greenwich, and finally to London, the entry into which city will, it is said, be made in state on Thursday or Friday next.

Canterbury, 31st May 1522.

[*Italian, 5 pages.*]

June 4. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlv. p. 40, tergo.

464. Reply of the Council of Ten and Junta to the Apostolic Legate in Venice.

Have heard what he has communicated to them on behalf of Cardinal de' Medici.

With regard to "the office of no good" (*el non bon officio*) performed against him by the Signory's ambassador [in England], of which the Cardinal says he has received advice from England, are really unable to credit it, and consider it must proceed from evil reporters. Will write to the ambassador in England, and are ready to do anything to please the Cardinal.

And be it carried that the College write to the ambassador in England

Ayes, 23. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 25 lines.*]

June 5. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 166, St. Mark's Library.

465. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

After dinner on the 31st of May the Emperor and the King of England departed together from Canterbury. After stopping at several places, they arrived at Greenwich on the 3rd of June,* and both lodged in the palace there.

On that same day, the 3rd, we arrived in London, where we found the masters of the galleys and the merchants, who acquainted them more minutely with the detriment and loss which they must incur should the galleys be unloaded and have to return from Spain to re-ship their cargoes. Although we had considered it for the interest of the State to consent to Cardinal Wolsey's demand, such being the firm resolve of the King of England, nevertheless we did not think it unfitting to confer with Wolsey again, and recapitulate

* According to Hall the arrival took place on Monday, the 2nd of June. He makes no mention of the Queen's residence at "Altr'," to which the Venetian ambassadors allude in their letter of the 31st of May.

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the inconvenience and loss which must accrue, not only to the masters and to the merchants of Venice, but also to those of England. Should nothing else be obtained—nor do we anticipate any more important result—the Cardinal will at least be convinced of the enormous sacrifice caused by the loan of these galleys.

We went therefore to Wolsey on the 4th, and told him the galleys could convoy the Emperor to Spain with their cargoes on board. The Cardinal remarked that he was very well informed on the subject, and in fact adduced all the arguments of which we had intended to make use; but he added, "These reasons would be valid, and the mischief prove very great indeed, if we insisted on the galleys accompanying the Emperor as far as Spain; so that, although I have not done so hitherto, I will now unbosom myself to you. We do not intend either your galleys or our own fleet to accompany the Emperor to Spain, but off Brest, in Normandy, some 200 miles from Hampton, for thus far there is danger from the French ships, but none at all beyond; and indeed it would be perilous for ourselves [to proceed farther?], as the French would injure our shipping, and might also land and damage this kingdom in various ways. So vouchsafe to give yourselves this slight inconvenience, and thus accommodate us and the Emperor. We will supply provisions, and pay the galley sailors taken into our service. You, in like manner, for your convenience detained some of our vessels in Candia, and all potentates do the like."

Having replied very mildly, we presented the masters of the galleys to Wolsey, that they likewise might hear the whole, which was repeated to them word for word.

The Cardinal had previously discussed the treaty recently negotiated at Bruges by me, of which he had seen the minutes, or else they were in his possession. He offered to use his good offices in the matter, saying he would confer with us and the Imperial councillors about it on Saturday.

In Wolsey's antechamber we met the envoy of Madame Louise, the mother of the King of France, who was awaiting audience of the Cardinal; and we proceeded to visit the ambassador from the French Crown resident in England [the President Poillot?], who received us cordially, and announced the final decision brought by this envoy on behalf of Madame Louise, namely, that she would urge her son to agree to the truce beyond the Alps (*citra montes*), provided the King of England make truce with the Scots, whereupon he promises to remove the Duke of Albany from Scotland forthwith; and that Francis would pay the arrears of tribute in due season. Touching the damages done reciprocally, the ambassador said that commissioners must be sent from London to Calais, and that the King of France would appoint delegates to go to Boulogne to state his claims, compensation being then made mutually. With regard to the arrest of Englishmen in France, and of Frenchmen in England, the ambassador said his King would be the first to release the English, relying on the promise of their King to do the like by the Frenchmen in England. Lastly, the King of France demands the

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renewal of the treaty of London.* Such, the French ambassador said, was the ultimatum.

On the morrow I (Contarini) visited the Bishop of Palencia [Pedro Ruiz de la Mota], in order to ascertain what had been said and shown to Cardinal Wolsey, as the affair harassed me greatly, both on account of the French envoys now in London, as also from my knowledge of Wolsey's character. I wished also to obtain hints for the regulation of my discourse at the conference to be held with the Cardinal on Saturday.

I went therefore to the Bishop of Palencia, who told me that the particular truce, which was to take effect beyond the Alps, could not by any means be realized, though the general truce, both north and south of the Alps, might be arranged if the King of France chose, but the Bishop doubted his consent.

I mentioned what had been said to me by Wolsey, and the Bishop answered, laughing, "Really that fellow is a wonderful man;† he chooses to interfere in everything, and to do all himself; one must act according to his fashion."

The Bishop then commenced loudly vituperating Wolsey's arrogance.

I proposed to tell [the Cardinal] that being most anxious for this peace and confederacy, I had drawn up the writing unknown to the Signory, and inserted the clauses it contained upon my own responsibility.

The Bishop, in reply, swore by many oaths, that all I had told him had been kept secret, and not communicated to the Emperor or any one else, and that he merely mentioned to Wolsey that I was empowered to conclude the peace, so that I was at liberty at the conference to attribute everything to myself.

On coming home I found that Surian's secretary was returned from the envoy of Madame Louise, with the following account of his negotiations with Cardinal Wolsey.

The Cardinal said the Emperor would consent to nothing but a universal truce, and that the King of England insisted on the instant removal of the Duke of Albany from Scotland, whereupon the King would make truces with the Scots. Also that the King insists on the arrears of tribute being paid immediately; and should the King of France subsequently have need of the money he would find he is dealing with a generous and friendly sovereign.

Wolsey said there was no occasion for a renewal of the treaty of London, as the King meant to abide by the original agreements.

Later on that same evening we received letters from our colleague, Badoer, in France, dated from the 20th to the 28th of May, purporting that after the King of France declined to accept the universal truce, and to include the Duke of Milan, the English ambassador [Sir Thomas Cheney] quitted the French Court, and subsequently, on the 28th‡ at Lyons, an English herald [Clarencieux] proclaimed war in the name of his King.

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* In October 1518. (*See* Giustinian Despatches, vol. ii. p. 228.)

† "In verità costui è uno mirabel homo."

‡ On the 29th, according to Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. III. no. 2292; but cf. no. 2290.

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The French envoys in London have received similar intelligence, and are to depart on Sunday next, the 8th, being much surprised and astounded.

London, 5th June 1522.

[*Italian*, 4½ *pages*.]

June 6. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 167, St. Mark's Library.

466. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The last three days have been passed by the Emperor and the King with the Queen at Greenwich, where banquets and other entertainments were given, such as pageants, jousts, and tournaments, wherein the King of England took part, and comported himself valiantly. Today, at about 7 p.m., they made their entry into this city.

The streets on their passage were decorated with tapestry, and at certain spots there were triumphal arches, in number eight, some of them representing the origin of the Burgundian order of knighthood, some the commencement of the Empire in the West; others the genealogy of their Imperial and English Majesties, and others the kingdoms possessed by them; all being well suited to the sentiments they were intended to illustrate.* Well nigh all the arches bore the following inscription:—

"Carolus, Henricus, vivant defensor uterque;
Henricus fidei, Carolus ecclesiæ."

The entrance was made thus,—

First came a crowd of Switzers and other subalterns of the Court on horseback; then the English gentlemen and the Imperialists, in number almost 400, but the majority English, all dressed in black velvet, with very costly gold chains round their necks. They were followed by the heralds, who preceded the officials of the city of London, clad in scarlet. Next came the Imperial privy councillors and those of the King of England; among them sundry bishops and other prelates, in advance of the barons and lords, the last of whom, holding the chief post of honour, were the Duke of Suffolk and the Marquis of Brandenburg, each being the consort of a Queen.† They were followed by Surian and Contarini, and by the Papal Nuncio, behind whom came Cardinal Wolsey; then came the two masters of the horse of the Emperor and the King, with drawn swords in their hands, immediately in advance of the two sovereigns, both wearing doublets of silver brocade made on purpose for the occasion. Behind their Majesties were their Lord Chamberlains, together with some four great personages, after whom marched the archer guard of the Emperor, that of the King, and that of the Cardinal.

In this array their Majesties went first to the cathedral and then to their lodging in a palace lately completed for this meeting between these sovereigns.‡

* It is probable that the "*histories*" and inscriptions were devised by Alexander Barclay, the "*Blake Monke*," author of "*The Ship of Fools*." (See Chronicle of Calais, p. 83.)

† The Duke of Suffolk married the Queen Dowager of France, A.D. 1515, March 16, and the Queen Dowager of Arragon gave her hand to the Marquis of Brandenburg in April 1519.

‡ "*Uno palazo fornito novamente*." The Palace of Bridewell (see Cunningham).

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The Emperor is expected to remain in London until Monday, and will then proceed on his way to Hampton.

London, 6th June 1522.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page*.]

June 7. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 168, St. Mark's Library.

467. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the entry of their Majesties into London, as detailed in the preceding letter, accompanied them upstairs to their apartments in the palace, going first to the Emperor's chamber, and then to the chamber of the King, who, laughing, called Surian to him, and said, "Tomorrow we must hold a conference with you, and see whether you choose to persevere in the league with France or rather to join ours."

Cardinal Wolsey, who was present, then invited us to dine with him on the morrow, saying they would meet the Imperial councillors; so today [7th June] we kept the appointment. The other guests were the Chancellor Gattinara, the Bishop of Elna, the Emperor's ambassador in ordinary resident at the English Court, Mons. de Roeux, the Bishop of Durham, the Master of the Rolls, Bishop elect of London [Cuthbert Tunstall], and Mons. de Hedin, ambassador of the Lady Margaret.

In the middle of dinner Wolsey commenced vituperating the French. He said that if peace was to exist in Christendom they must be exterminated,* as they were always fomenting strife and discord among the Christian powers. He entered into many details, showing in how many ways they had endeavoured to create enmity between the Emperor and his King, and that their oaths were worth nothing. He stated that the King of England and he had been as long suffering as possible, for the sake of establishing a general peace, notwithstanding which France had outraged them in a thousand ways. They sent the Duke ofAlbany to Scotland; they plundered; they did not pay the tribute, &c. He said the King of England was better entitled to the crown of France than his most Christian Majesty, and meant to possess himself of it. In this tone the Cardinal spoke at great length; and then announced that the envoy from Madame [Louise of Savoy] had been to him that morning offering a general truce with the exception of the duchy of Milan; but Wolsey replied that it was too late.

After dinner, all the guests, with the exception of the ambassador from the Lady Margaret, having assembled together, Wolsey commenced his discourse by saying that the King of England and his predecessors had always borne singular affection towards the Republic; and that although the Signory held Cyprus, which belonged to his Majesty,† he had never failed being the friend of Venice and

* "*Necessario era extirparli.*"

† See also Giustinian's despatches of 1st April 1516 and 28th May 1518. I do not know when the claims of England to Cyprus were relinquished, but on the 25th of August 1634 the Venetian secretary Zonca wrote to the Signory, from London, that Secretary Windebank did not remonstrate with the Duke of Savoy for assuming the title of King of Cyprus.

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doing her all the good he could, and lately [in September 1518] specified the State as his ally in the treaty of London.

Will not repeat the very bitter complaints made against the French by Wolsey, who stated that his King had declared himself the enemy of the King of France and his adherents, in virtue of the confederacy, allying himself so closely with the Emperor that a closer connexion could not be imagined. He therefore required of us, as the Republic's representatives, that Venice should, according to the treaty, declare herself the enemy of France, as otherwise the Emperor and the King of England would consider the State a hostile power, and would, first by letters patent, and then by a herald, announce this to the Signory; adding that from this time forth, should Venice give to the French any succour of troops, money, or provisions, the King of England would hold the State his enemy.

Made an amicable reply, thanking the King and Cardinal for their constant good offices in favour of the Republic, which would never fail in gratitude. With regard to Wolsey's two demands, said we could give no answer, but would write to Venice for instructions. Wolsey desired us to do so immediately.

The Cardinal then commenced to talk about the peace between the Emperor and the Signory, which caused the Chancellor Gattinara to narrate how his Imperial Majesty had always been desirous of it, and that so long ago as when at Ypres [in July 1520?] on his return from Spain, he proposed to Cornaro, the Venetian ambassador at his Court, that if the Signory chose to have perpetual peace with his Majesty, he would concede investiture and title in such wise that Venice might thenceforth hold her possessions with a clear conscience; or, if the State preferred a temporary peace and prolongation of the truce, the Emperor was equally willing to make the adjustment on those terms. To this, Gattinara said, the Signory made no reply, but communicated the proposal to France. He added that the quinquennial truce between the Emperor and the Republic was of a later date than her confederacy with France, which was therefore invalidated; yet the Signory had in several instances violated the truce. He quoted the stoppage of the Imperial couriers, the spoliation last winter of the 20 Spanish men-at-arms, the grant of money to the French, and the counsel given to the King of France to come into Italy.

Having listened to the reply made by us to these charges, Cardinal Wolsey said to me (Contarini), "You have a power from the State; let us make a triple league, both offensive and defensive, between the Emperor, my King, and the Republic, reserving place for the Pope." Replied that the power related solely to peace, and that even concerning its particulars I had no instructions. Wolsey rejoined, "Well, I will take upon myself the trouble of drawing up the articles of the triple alliance, both offensive and defensive, and I will modify everything, and deliver them to you two days hence." We promised on receiving the articles to transmit them to the State.

The Chancellor Gattinara does not very cordially assent to this alliance, lest Wolsey, for the sake of obtaining his intent with regard to it, diminish the sum of money demanded, which money

1522. seems to be the Chancellor's chief object. We then took leave of Wolsey, who told us he wished to remain with the Imperial councillors, as they purposed commencing the negotiations for a confederacy between the parties, implying that nothing whatever had been treated as yet, although at Bruges the Bishop of Palencia told me (Contarini) that all the matters of importance between the King of England and the Emperor had been already settled, as may with reason be supposed.

On quitting Cardinal Wolsey, we went to the lodging of the Bishop of Palencia, and were told by him that the King of France was on his way back from Lyons, proceeding towards Picardy, and that the French had made a foray in the direction of Calais.

On the 5th, Cardinal Wolsey told us his King was sending a great number of English troops to Spain for the Emperor's service in the war, and also to keep the Spaniards themselves more in subjection, by showing them practically that the King of England is allied with the Emperor "throughout."

Were informed yesterday by the French ambassador, Poillot, that after announcing the hostile league made by England against France, Cardinal Wolsey told him he would take the field in person, and raise 10,000 men with his own funds, selling even his sacerdotal garments for the purpose.

Understand moreover from the Bishop of Palencia that the Pope has exerted himself with the Switzers no less zealously than his predecessor, Leo, and that he continues to do so.

On Monday, the 9th, the King and the Emperor are to quit London, and by *Corpus Christi* Day mean to be at Winchester, near Hampton, where the Emperor will embark with the first fair wind.

Surian, being no longer able to forward letters through his colleague in Flanders, requests the State to give him notice if they can indicate other means of conveyance.

London, Saturday, 7th June 1522.

[*Italian*, 5½ *pages.*]

June 7. Signed Letters, Chiefs of the Council of Ten.

468. The Council of Ten to Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Through the Apostolic Legate in Venice, the Cardinal de' Medici has complained to us that you have used unbecoming language about him in England. Answered the Legate that of this they could not persuade themselves, and thought it proceeded from evil reporters, as such is not the custom of the Signory's ambassadors. Believe that such is the case, but give him warning, that he may know how to regulate his proceedings, and act with reserve.

[*Italian*, 9 *lines.*]

June 7. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 88, tergo.

469. The Doge and Senate to the Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have heard with great vexation the account contained in his letters of the 7th, 10th, and 16th ult., of what Cardinal Wolsey said to him about the letters he had received from the Emperor's court, concerning the Turkish forays in the Imperial territories. The

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information is false. Wrote to him (Surian) on this subject on the 8th of April. The Signory had no hand in those forays. Deplore them vastly, owing to the imminent peril to the State. It is also untrue that they were effected without injury to Venetian subjects. In Dalmatia many human beings and animals were carried off, and the Turks daily committed ravages there.

To acquaint Cardinal Wolsey with the absurdity of the intelligence, and request him not to give ear to such reports.

Regret that the Emperor regards the Venetians as his enemies, on account of the assistance they have given to France. Venice continues to observe the truce with the Emperor, and has never given him cause for complaint. Cannot be blamed for what they did for France, having kept their faith. The Emperor has therefore no reason to instigate the King of England against the State.

Rejoice to hear that their friendship is reciprocated by his Majesty and the Cardinal, to the latter of whom he (Surian) is to give ample thanks for having borne in mind, as he said he had, the safety of the Flanders galleys. Are convinced that if he had pondered the serious loss caused to the Signory's subjects by the delay of the galleys, he would have endeavoured to effect the repeal of every prohibition, and favoured their speedy departure. Should the galleys not be despatched on the receipt of this letter, to beseech the Cardinal to perform his promise of taking the subjects and galleys of the State under his protection. To urge this to the utmost, so that they may commence their homeward voyage, and the Signory be enabled in due season to send the other relay [of galleys] as usual.*

Is moreover to thank the Cardinal for his good offices for the release of the Donata galley. The news of its arrival in England has proved very agreeable to the State. Attribute this to the Cardinal's intercession. Hope that by reason of the very well deserved authority which the Cardinal enjoys, his goodwill may benefit the State. Consider themselves eternally obliged to him.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 57 *lines*.]

June 8. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 168, St. Mark's Library.

470. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

This morning (the 8th) accompanied the Emperor and the King to St. Paul's to mass, which was chanted pontifically by Cardinal Wolsey. The ceremony was attended by all the nobility of England, they and the Imperial court wearing most sumptuous apparel. On this occasion asked the Chancellor Gattinara for safeconducts for some noblemen, merchants of Venice, who were returning home. The Chancellor assented, adding, "You must accommodate us with these galleys of yours for this expedition of ours." Had no time to inquire for what expedition, but will endeavour to ascertain the particulars.

Has been told by the Papal Nuncio that the King of France, when answering a brief from Pope Adrian VI., did not choose to

* In the original, "*l'altra muda*."

1522. give him the title of Pope, but addressed him as Cardinal of Tortosa.

London, Sunday, 8th June 1522.

[*Italian*, ½ *page.*]

June 9. **471.** HENRY VIII.

Patti Sciolti. Letters patent to the Doge, Senate, and Signory of Venice, as parties to the treaty of London, 2nd October 1518.

Complains of the violation of the treaty by Francis I., his protection of Robert de la Mark, and seizure of Fonterabia. Narrates the negotiations of Cardinal Wolsey at Calais, and charges the State to declare herself the enemy of France.

London, 9th June 1522.

Signed: Henry R. *Countersigned:* Throkmorton.

[*Latin*, 41 *lines. Original, parchment, with the great seal of England in wax.*]

June 9. **472.** ORAZIO . . . . to the DUKE OF URBINO.

Mantuan Archives. In addition to what he wrote on the day before yesterday, informs the Duke that besides what was contained in the Papal brief to the Nuncio, the Pope wrote a letter to the Emperor about him (the Duke). Has been unable to see it, but knows it abounded in good will, and openly evinced the Pope's inclination to arrange the affairs of Urbino. Understood this through the Emperor's reply, which is being sent to Spain, with another of the like tenour. Will send [a copy ?] to the Duke by the next courier, lest, if the Pope pass into Italy, the packet by way of Spain should arrive late. It will also be accompanied by the copy of one addressed to Don Juan Emanuel. Does not send by this post the Emperor's answer to the Duke's letter, because it is not signed, and there is not time for the despatch. At this moment the King [Emperor ?] has signed it, and they are getting on horseback for Hampton, but will loiter for ten days on the way. Will follow his Highness to thank him and take leave. Expects to have to go as far as Hampton. Will return [to Urbino] leisurely, as there is no occasion for haste, most especially as he is travelling with a large company on its way back to Italy.

The Duke's affairs are proceeding prosperously. Was unable to obtain in time the signature to another letter, addressed to the Viceroy of Naples, also in favour of the Duke. Will endeavour to obtain it, as it indicates the Emperor's good will. Trusts it will reach Spain opportunely in the midst of these great undertakings.

Has not forgotten the little dog (*cagnolo*). Will do his utmost to obtain one, either male or female.

London, 9th June 1522.

Signed: Horatio.

[*Italian. Copy.*]

June 11. **473.** NOTE by SANUTO.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxii. p. 264. The Imperial ambassador [in Venice] seems to have received letters from Flanders, dated Brussels, the 27th of May, announcing that on the 26th the Emperor embarked at Calais for England, and

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landed with fair weather at Dover, but nothing has been heard from the Signory's ambassador.

[*Italian.*]

June 13. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 169, St. Mark's Library.

474. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

For the purpose of ascertaining the nature of the expedition alluded to in St. Paul's by the Chancellor went to dine with him. Gattinara said the King and Cardinal intended to make use of the Flanders galleys, and likewise of their own fleet; and that they also purposed laying an embargo on the effects and merchandise of Venetian subjects until they received a reply to the proposal, or rather to the "summons." This was notified to the ambassadors by Wolsey, who said that by the treaty of London Venice was bound to declare against France for having violated it.

Subsequently, on Thursday evening, he and Surian received a letter from the captain of the Flanders galleys [Vincenzo Priuli], informing them that the Admiral, the Earl of Surrey, had in the first place given the "masters" to understand that he was very willing to pay the crews, but chose each galley to be manned by 50 Venetian seamen and one Venetian nobleman, who were to land, according to the Admiral's orders, on the French soil, under the banner of St. Mark, and wage war on the King of France.

After this the Earl of Surrey made a similar announcement to the captain [Vincenzo Priuli], who apologized discreetly for non-compliance, as he was unacquainted with the Signory's intentions, and he and all the other noblemen and their officials, by taking such a step, would subject themselves to capital punishment. Thereupon the Earl of Surrey became angry, and addressed him in very haughty and threatening language; so yesterday he and Surian took horse and rode to Hampton Court to Cardinal Wolsey, of whom today they had audience.

Complained to the Cardinal of Surrey's fresh orders, at variance with what the Cardinal had so recently told them, namely, that the King did not purpose making use of the galleys for the distance of more than 200 miles, to convoy the Spaniards off Brest, and that they were then to return, together with the English fleet; a voyage requiring but a few days. Requested Wolsey to repeal orders the execution of which was impossible.

The Cardinal replied that touching the mission of 50 men from each galley, with a flag, &c., he was surprised that the Admiral should have used such language, which must have been uttered in anger. He again assured them the King's intention was that the galleys should go as far as Brest. He did not allude to any expedition, though he did say that for a very good reason the King did not choose either the captain or the masters to accompany the galleys, and that this was his firm resolve. With regard to the refusal of the crews to undertake the voyage on such terms, nothing the ambassadors could say was of any avail.

Are of opinion that this reply is in accordance with what the Chancellor [Gattinara] told Contarini about the intended seizure of the galleys and merchandise, and perhaps of the masters and merchants, until the receipt of the Signory's reply to the summons

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charging her to act against France. No arguments urged by them produce any effect; can only use fair words, which are of no use.

The other day they waited on the Cardinal respecting a bond given by a shipowner for wines imported by Maphio Bernardo. Wolsey promised to send for the customers and make them cancel it, but today he retracted his promise, and said he chose the wines to be landed and placed in deposit, a confirmation of the intentions mentioned by the Chancellor.

Hampton Court, Friday, 13th June 1522.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

June 13. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 170, St. Mark's Library.

475. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On Sunday, at the Court, the Bishop of Durham alluding to the conference held on the preceding day with Cardinal Wolsey, told Surian that to avoid entering into a chaos it would be well to make a general agreement with the Emperor without especial mention of the towns and places in possession of the State.

On the same day, when discussing the affair of Bernardo's wines, Wolsey expressed the like opinion to Surian, adding, "This alliance will include the Pope, the Emperor, my King, the Signory, and the Duke of Milan. You and he will be bound to defend each other's territories in Italy mutually, and the other allies will pledge themselves in the same manner. It is true you must pay money to the Emperor, because he wants it, but I can tell you that you will thus diminish your expenditure."

Wolsey seemed to take into account the expenses incurred by Venice for defence against Turkish invasion, and Surian endeavoured to exaggerate it.

Today the Cardinal told Surian and him (Contarini) that he was drawing up the articles of the treaty, and would show it to them shortly; and that a copy of it, together with the letters patent containing the intimation, should be sent to Pace, who would proceed forthwith from Rome to Venice. Touching these articles, Wolsey said word for word as follows: "This Imperial Chancellor is too exacting, and, encouraged by these successes of the Emperor in Italy, would fain rule the whole universe, but my King will mediate as a good and common friend."*

The ambassadors therefore suspect there is some difficulty about the sum to be disbursed by the Signory; but perceiving so much that is contradictory, will not assert anything, and refer themselves to the written document.

Remind the State that it is desirable to give cordial and honorable greeting to Pace, because, as frequently mentioned by Surian, he is the stanchest partisan of Venice in England, and, next to the Cardinal, is the most influential person about the King.

Hampton Court, Friday, 13th June 1522.

[*Italian*, 2½ *pages*.]

* "Iste Cancellarius Cæsaris nimis petit, et ductus his fœlicibus successibus Cæsaris in Italia, vellet dominari toto orbi; sed Rex meus interponet se tanquam bonus et communis amicus."

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June 14. **476.** MOTION in the SENATE by the SAGES.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 270.

That a letter be written to Antonio Surian, ambassador in England, in reply to what he wrote concerning the wish of the King for the Signory to make an agreement with the Emperor.

The State is much obliged to his Majesty, and wishes to know what terms he can obtain for them from the Emperor.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. **477.** MOTION in the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA.

Misti Consiglio X. v. xlv. p. 45.

That the letters lately received from England, Rome, and Verona, addressed to the Council of Ten, concerning the negotiations now in course with France, Germany, and England, and all other writings relating to the matter, be all communicated to the Senate. The most profound secrecy to be observed, as recently decreed by the Council of Ten.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 7 lines.*]

June 16. **478.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 171, St. Mark's Library.

Yesterday the Court received intelligence of the sack and capture of Genoa, which caused great joy. On the 11th [Denis Poillot] the French ambassador and [Chavigny] the envoy from Madame [Louise] took their departure.*

The Spanish fleet, which was expected from Flanders, has not yet arrived in England. The Emperor's embarkation is therefore delayed; and in the meanwhile he will reside at Winchester.

Windsor, Monday, 16th June 1522.

[*Italian, ½ page.*]

June 16. **479.** TREATY of WINDSOR. (*Imperial Counterpart.*)†

Sforza Archives.

Charles, &c.—At a time when the Sovereign of the Turks is threatening all the Christian powers, has sacked and ravaged Hungary, and meditates still greater undertakings, the King of the French is levying war in Christendom. After violating the treaties and breaking the peace whilst Pope Leo X. was still alive, he first openly attacked the States of the Church, and then, though to his own damage, invaded our own realms and dominions in French Flanders and Spain, without any previous defiance, and laid them waste with sword and fire. For this reason Henry King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, our very dear brother and uncle, deservedly styled "Defender of the Faith," having been requested in virtue of treaties to keep his faith and oath, as the French King has rejected equitable conditions of peace or truce, has declared himself his enemy.

Having met together, being both Defenders as well of the Catholic Church as of the orthodox faith, and desiring to secure peace

* See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, Hen. VIII., vol. iii. no. 2241.

† Concerning this treaty, the following note occurs at p. 308, vol. vi. part v., State Papers :—"The treaty of Windsor was concluded on the 19th of June 1522, between Henry VIII. and the Emperor Charles V. in person. It is remarkable that this treaty is not printed either by Rymer or in the '*Recueil des Traités de Paix.*' The original minute of it is preserved in the State Paper Office."

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among Christians, in order that the forces of Christendom may be combined against its cruel enemies, we have made this indissoluble treaty and perpetual peace.

(1.) This treaty is nowise to disparage existing treaties between Charles and Henry, though it is to take precedence of all others.

(2.) They shall henceforth heart and soul be united for the preservation of their persons, dignities, dominions, and revenues, by whomsoever unduly detained or occupied, declaring themselves friends of friends and foes of foes. This treaty to include any dominions hereafter acquired by them.

(3.) Should any potentate attack the Emperor, the King of England is to render assistance at his own cost; the Emperor doing the like by the King.

(4.) As the expedition against the Turks cannot be effected until chastisement be first inflicted on the guilty peace breakers among Christians, and as the root of this evil proceeds from the undue occupation by the King of the French of what belongs to others, the contracting sovereigns, having already declared themselves his enemies, will continue the war against him by land and sea.

(5.) Neither party to recall his army or fleet until each recover what belongs to him.

(6.) Neither to desist from the war without the consent of his ally; and should the enemy make proposals for peace they are to be communicated.

(7.) Mutual transit to be allowed through the territories of the contracting parties for vessels, troops, etc.

(8.) Any acquisition to be surrendered to the party to whom it rightfully belongs.

(9.) The enemies and rebels of each are to be deemed enemies and rebels of both, and banished.

(10.) Pope Adrian VI. to be invited to become the head of this league within three months.

(11.) If the Venetian Republic make peace or truce with the Emperor, and alienate itself entirely from the French alliance, and, according to the treaty of London [October 1518], declare against the French, the Republic is to be held as a confederate.

(12.) As the Switzers are well affected to the Emperor and the King of England, envoys are to be sent to them to renounce the yoke and alliance of France and enter into the present treaty. Should they fail to do so, the contracting parties are to endeavour through their envoys to prevent them from adhering to France, and to secure their neutrality.

(13.) No power to be included in the present treaty, save by consent of the contracting parties, who nominate as their friends and confederates the Kings of Hungary, Denmark, Portugal, and Poland, the Holy Roman Empire and its Princes Electors, Don Ferdinand, Infant of Spain and Archduke of Austria, Lady Margaret, Archduchess, widow relict of Savoy, and Countess of Burgundy, Cardinal de' Medici with the Florentine Republic, the Cardinal of Liege with the city of Liege, the Cardinal of Lyons with his dominions, the Dukes of Savoy, Milan, Juliers, and Cleves,

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the Marquises of Montferrat and Mantua, and the Bishops of Utrecht and Munster.

These articles, we, Charles Emperor elect, promise Henry King of England and France to keep and observe inviolate; and for their observance bind under mortgage (*hypotheca*) and bond all our goods wherever existing. And we have signed these our letters with our own hand, and commanded that our Great Seal be set to them.

Given in Windsor Castle, 16th June 1522.

Collated with the original by Philip Nicola, the Emperor's secretary.

[*Latin.*]

June 17. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 91.

480. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADORS accredited to the EMPEROR and the KING OF ENGLAND.

Have received Antonio [Surian]'s letters of the 19th, 22nd, and 29th May, and those written by Gasparo [Contarini], dated from Bruges on the 20th and 22nd May, and from Dover on the 28th. Were extremely glad to hear by the latter of the Emperor's safe arrival in England, and of the loving conferences between him and the King. The ambassadors are to congratulate the two Sovereigns.

By Surian's letters of the 19th May learn what the King said to him about the union between the Emperor, himself, and the Signory. For this gracious office on the part of the King are bound to him for ever. When on the point of answering this letter of Surian's, there arrived the despatch from Canterbury written on the 31st May.

The State is much gratified by the good offices which Cardinal Wolsey hoped to perform with the Emperor with respect to the negotiations. Are awaiting news of the communication which the Cardinal promised to make at Greenwich. The State must necessarily await this announcement to enable them to make a decisive answer; and the ambassadors are to notify this to the Emperor and to the Chancellor [Gattinara], lest they be surprised at the delay.

Although aware that to delay the despatch of the Flanders galleys is extremely detrimental to the Venetian nation, nevertheless, by reason of the Signory's ancient friendship with the King and his ancestors, it has been very agreeable to the Doge and Senate to have an opportunity of doing pleasure to the King by accommodating him with the galleys, of which he may dispose as of his own.

Desire that on quitting Spain they may come back with their cargoes without any impediment.

Ayes, 178. Noes, 14. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*, 60 *lines.*]

June 17. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 92.

481. The PROPOSED TRIPLE LEAGUE.

Reply made by the Signory to the Imperial Ambassador [on the 20th of June], in accordance with the letter to the Venetian Ambassador in England on the 17th.

Your magnificence on a former occasion demanded the Signory's reply to the Viceroy [Charles de Lannoy, Viceroy of Naples], and

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was told that the State having received letters from Contarini, ambassador with the Emperor, on the same subject, it was necessary in the first place to answer them, in order that the reply to the Viceroy might be to the like effect.

We inform you, therefore, that the State wrote to Contarini, announcing its intention of forming a union with the Emperor, but the Ambassador Surian, on the 19th May, wrote that the King of England had proposed to him a league between their two Majesties and the Signory. Subsequently, by joint letters from Surian and Contarini, dated Canterbury, the 31st of May, the Signory understood that Cardinal Wolsey had told them the Emperor had acquainted his King and himself with all the Signory's negotiations. As there were certain difficulties, the Cardinal hoped to devise a mode of adjustment, and desired Surian and Contarini to meet him at Greenwich, when he would let them know the decision, which the State is expecting hourly. Until then the Signory can give no reply. This you can announce to the Viceroy.

[*Italian*, 27 *lines*.]

June 17. **482.** The Proposed Triple League.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 280.

The Senate sat in the afternoon. The Doge was present.

An apologetic letter to England was written and carried; the Signory requires the King to let them know what terms the Emperor would give them should they adhere to him and desert France.

Motion that a letter be written to Badoer, the Signory's ambassador with the King of France, who is at Lyons, sending him copies of the letters from England, and of the King's conversations with the Venetian ambassadors.

Francesco Contarini spoke against the motion, and moved for delay, on the ground that the letters of the late Emperor, which were sent to France, caused the formation of the League of Cambrai. Lunardo Mocenigo answered him. Mafio Lion, late State Attorney, showed that these letters would bring about immediate war with the Emperor and the King of England. He was answered by Donà da Leze.

The motion and amendment were put to the ballot, but Marin Zorzi, LL.D., counsellor, was in favour of delay.

For the motion, 84; for the amendment, 118; and this last was carried.

[*Italian*.]

June 19. **483.** Antonio Surian and Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 307.

The Emperor is still here (*sic*), as the fleet has not yet arrived from Spain. The [Flanders] galleys have all been made to unload at Hampton, and the merchandise has been placed in warehouses. The like has also been done by the wine ship of Mafio Bernardo, in order to exact a certain duty, which the owners refused to pay. They therefore wrote to the ambassadors to mention this to Cardinal Wolsey, and to represent that it was wrong to have the ship unloaded.

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With regard to the agreement, Wolsey said the articles were being drawn up, and he should send them to Rome to the English ambassador, Richard Pace, who would go to Venice to show them to the Signory, and, if approved, the agreement will be stipulated.*

London (*sic*), 16th and 19th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 172, St. Mark's Library.

484. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Today went to Windsor from a distance of five miles thence, having been unable to find lodging in the town. Accompanied the Emperor and the King to the mass and procession, it being Corpus Christi Day. The two sovereigns wore the robes of the Garter, and all the knights of the order were habited in like manner, as usual.

After the procession and mass, their Majesties went with Cardinal Wolsey and the Chancellor Gattinara to the high altar, to which they summoned the Papal Nuncio, Surian, and myself (Contarini).

On the altar was a missal (open at the page representing the Saviour on the cross), whereon the two sovereigns took their oath. Then two instruments, filling several sheets of parchment, with pendent seals, were brought to them, besides two other smaller instruments, also on parchment.

Gattinara told me (Contarini) that the two first were the articles of alliance contracted between their Majesties, and that one of the two last was signed by the Emperor (commencing "*Nos Carolus*"), and the other by the King.

These instruments were exchanged by the Emperor and the King. The Emperor gave both of his to the Chancellor, and the King gave his to Cardinal Wolsey. After these ceremonies they celebrated those of the Garter, as usual.

The ambassadors having accompanied the sovereigns to their apartments, Wolsey invited the Papal Nuncio [Caracciolo], the Duke of Alva, the Marquis of Brandenburg, Surian, and myself to dine with him. While at dinner Wolsey said that the French had compelled England to go to war with them, and that the King of France never chose to listen to their admonitions, being of opinion that last year a league to his detriment had been stipulated at Bruges, though the act celebrated this day (the 19th) would convince the world that the conclusion took place now, and not at Bruges. The Cardinal sought to impress this on his guests. He had previously, on the 7th instant, in London, informed Surian and me that the Imperial and English ministries were on the point of commencing mutual negotiations.

After dinner, Cardinal Wolsey having withdrawn into his chamber, Surian acquainted him with the communication made by the Turkish ambassador at Venice, adding that it was suspected their object was to pick a quarrel with the State, and expatiating on the vast expenditure required for defensive preparations.

* Some of the particulars in Sanuto's summary do not exist in the Contarini letter book.

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Wolsey replied that he saw the perilous state of Christendom, nor was it credible that Sultan Solyman would neglect the opportunity. He then alluded to the good will ever borne by England towards the Republic, and said that in conformity with the demand then made of us (Surian and Contarini), and which would be repeated at Venice by the Imperial and English ambassadors, it was very fitting that the Signory should declare against the French, according to the tenor of the treaty [of London, October 1518 ?].

We gave assurance of the Republic's gratitude to the King and the Cardinal, who then commenced speaking of the galleys. He said he did not mean them to go into Spain, but merely to accompany the Emperor beyond the enemy's confines; that this would much gratify the Emperor, and that he (Wolsey) caused the galleys to unload for the benefit of the State, for if they have their cargoes on board, and the agreement between the Emperor and the Republic fail to take place, both the galleys and the merchandise would run very great risk. He added that the "masters" had disgraced themselves extremely by declining to take the slightest possible step without pecuniary recompense from the King, who was very indignant, and had not Wolsey pacified him he would have proceeded to disagreeable demonstrations against their persons, but the Cardinal said he would not allow so old a friendship as subsisted between his King and the Signory to be broken for such a trifle, about which he made grievous complaints.

We answered in moderate terms, thanking him for his good offices in favour of the State, from whom we said we had received no orders about the galleys, though we well knew the Republic had a general wish to oblige the King in everything.

We said the Cardinal must not be surprised at the masters, as they are private individuals who really have a great amount of property at stake, and therefore remonstrated. Promised, however, to write to them, and use every possible effort to secure compliance with the wishes of the King and Cardinal.

Wolsey said nothing about the articles of the treaty, which he said on a former occasion he intended to show us, but during dinner the Bishop of Durham told Surian that the ministers had already settled what part of the treaty was to be communicated to us, and that we were to see it, though in secret.

Neither the Spanish nor the Flemish fleet has yet arrived at Hampton, but this morning we heard (the fact being confirmed to us by a letter from the captain of the Flanders galleys, dated Hampton, the 16th) that the English fleet would by this time have put to sea, or be on the eve of departure, but its destination was unknown. Some days ago, in London, we heard that it was bound for Spain, where apparently the English have some understanding.*

On Saturday the Emperor and the King will quit Windsor for Winchester.

This morning (the 19th) Surian was informed that the French have made several forays in the direction of Calais, and destroyed

* In the original, "*dove par havesseno certi trattati*;" *i.e.*, where apparently the English and Spanish forces have to make some joint attack.

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all the places belonging to England between that city and Boulogne and in that neighbourhood.

It is reported that the King of France has quitted Lyons, and ridden post to Switzerland. Others say he is going into Picardy. I (Contarini) was told so by the Chancellor Gattinara.

Surian apologizes for sealing the packet with his ring, as he went to Windsor solely to be present at the festival, and heard there accidentally that a courier would depart this evening. We therefore wrote with such accommodation as we could obtain in the house of the postmaster.

Windsor, Thursday, 19th June 1522.

[*Italian*, 4 *lines*.]

June 24. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 96, tergo.

485. The DOGE AND SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France.

An audience was given this morning by the College to the French ambassadors. They denied that any truce between King Francis and the Emperor had been proposed in England, and knew their King would reject it. They requested a decision from the State respecting the Venetian men-at-arms in Cremona, and declared that the King of France would persevere in the undertaking.

(Read in the College on the 24th of June 1522.)

[*Italian*, 52 *lines*.]

June 26. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 173, St. Mark's Library.

486. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 20th the Count of Geneva [Philip of Savoy, Count of Geneva and Duke of Nemours], the brother of the Duke of Savoy, arrived at Windsor.* He was met by the Governor of Bresse and many other gentlemen of the Court. On the 21st the Emperor and the King quitted Windsor, and, having stopped at several places, always off the road, arrived at Winchester on the 24th.

Surian and I came another way, the country thereabouts being thinly peopled, and unable to afford lodging for one Court, still less for two. We arrived at Winchester on the 25th, and hoped the sovereigns would remain there until the Emperor proceeded to Hampton to embark. In this we were disappointed, as this afternoon the Emperor and the King went together to a village some seven miles off [Bishop's Waltham], containing but six or seven houses, so that neither the Chancellor nor the Bishop of Palencia could be accommodated there.

The whole Court, both Imperialist and English, was therefore ordered to Salisbury; but regardless of this command, we sent our purveyors to try and obtain accommodation of some sort in any village between Bishop's Waltham and Salisbury, in order to be at hand for negotiations, if necessary, although the sovereigns shun

* In date of Oudenarde, 12th December 1521, Gasparo Contarini wrote to the Signory that the Count of Geneva was then on the eve of departure thence for the purpose, it was supposed, of detaching the Duke of Savoy from France and bringing him over to the Emperor's side. It is probable that his appearance at Windsor in June 1522 was connected with this negotiation.

1522. business. If unsuccessful, we shall go to Salisbury, like all the rest.

This morning, the 26th, Chancellor Gattinara assured me that the Emperor had never asked the King of England for the Flanders galleys, either as convoy to Spain or for any other purpose, and that all that had been done in this matter was done by desire of the English, who (he understood) meant to employ these galleys, together with their own fleet, which was already at sea, in an expedition against France. If it failed they would return immediately to Calais, and there land their infantry, amounting to from 10,000 to 15,000 men, who were to join the Emperor's forces in Flanders, and invade the French territory. The Chancellor had also heard that the King of France was gone from Lyons to Paris with the intention of passing into Picardy, this intelligence having been brought by the English ambassador [Sir Thomas Cheney], who has returned from France. The Chancellor added that it was reported from Italy that Prospero Colonna, hearing of the descent of a French force, sent infantry and men-at-arms to the passes to oppose them; but ascertained subsequently that these troops were destined for Genoa, which having fallen, they returned to France. Gattinara complained that the Signory was raising troops at the suit of France, and urging the French King's return into Italy for the recovery of the duchy of Milan. I replied that the State was raising troops for the security of her territories, because all Italy was in arms.

Winchester, Thursday, 26th June 1522.

Postscript.—This letter has been detained until the 29th. Our purveyors being unable to find us lodging, we determined to see what could be got. Yesterday morning we went first to Hampton, and then to a village three miles distant thence, and seven miles from Bishop's Waltham, where the Emperor and the King are now residing.

At Hampton we heard of the arrival there on that day (28th June) of the Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Astorga, accredited by Adrian VI. to the Emperor. The Pope is said to have sent another Nuncio, the Bishop of Bari, to the King of France. The Nuncio Caracciolo and others say that the object of these missions is to make peace between the Emperor and France,—a very difficult affair, as matters are too far advanced.

When on the eve of departure from Winchester, we received the Signory's letters of the 7th, and will comply with their contents when able to see the Emperor and the King. We will also acquaint ourselves more fully about the removal of the guns from the Flanders galleys, as announced to us by the captain, who, we believe, gives particulars to the State in the accompanying letter.

Sunday, 29th June.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages.*]

June 28. **487.** LETTER from BRUGES.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxiii. p. 355. On the 22nd of May, the Emperor went to England, and there espoused the King's only daughter, seven or eight years of age, whom he places as a pledge in the hands of the Lady Margaret, my

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mistress here in Flanders, until the consummation of the marriage, so that in the course of time the Emperor will become King of England.

On the 3rd of June the King of England proclaimed war against the King of France in favour of the Emperor, who was present. A vigorous and cruel commencement has already been made in Flanders, and all tremble. In six days the Emperor quits England for Spain, and on his departure the King will land at Calais for the attack on France, of which he has the title. Madame Margaret my mistress, has two very powerful armies, one within the borders, towards France and Burgundy.* The result cannot fail to be very auspicious for the Emperor, as he is most Christian, and has the whole world at his disposal.

In 20 days, more or less according to the wind, you will have the Pope on the coast of Rome. An agreement is in course of negotiation between the Emperor and the Signory. A Papal Legate has arrived, a very distinguished person. I have shown him much kindness, and we live together like brothers. There will soon be universal peace throughout Italy.

Bruges, 28th June 1522.

[*Signed:*] Jo. Maria Chaneus, of Brescia, doctor and knight, in the service of the Archduchess Margaret.

Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.

[*Italian.*]

June 28. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 97, tergo.

488. The Doge and Senate to Gasparo Contarini and Antonio Surian.

Wrote to them on the 17th instant, stating that the Signory would make no reply respecting the negotiation with the Emperor, and the proposal made by the King of England to Surian about the triple league, until they knew what the Cardinal proposed.

Subsequently received the letters dated London, the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th inst. Are surprised to find that, when asked about these negotiations with the Emperor in the presence of Cardinal Wolsey, the ambassadors said they were awaiting a reply from the Signory. The ambassadors must remember having written the words uttered by Cardinal Wolsey in Canterbury Cathedral, which caused the reply to be delayed until the State became acquainted with the mitigation of the harsh terms to which Cardinal Wolsey alluded. When the Imperial ambassador [in Venice] reminded the Signory that it would be well to make a reply, they based their apology solely on the words of Cardinal Wolsey at Canterbury. Will send their reply on receiving the articles which Cardinal Wolsey offered to draw up. The Signory much prefers the triple league to any other adjustment with the Emperor alone, as they hold in great account the favour and protection of the King of England and Cardinal Wolsey.

Ayes, 208. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian, 47 lines.*]

* "La Ser.ma Madama mia de quì à due potentissimi partiti, l'uno intra el confine verso Francia et Borgogna."

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Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xxi. p. 98. tergo.

489. The DOGE AND SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France.

On the 23rd instant, in answer to his letters of the 10th and 11th, stated that although they wished the Milanese expedition to be continued, yet, owing to the tergiversation of the Switzers, it was the State's opinion the King of France would do well to accept the two years' truce on both sides the Alps offered him by Cardinal Wolsey, because in the meanwhile the forces might be recruited. Requested the King of France, in accordance with his offer, to mention the Signory in the truce, considering the indissoluble union between Venice and France.

Ayes, 191. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 60 lines.*]

June.
Mantuan Archives.

490. EMPEROR CHARLES V. to POPE ADRIAN VI.

Reply to a letter from the Pope in favour of Francesco Maria, Duke of Urbino, and of the Marquis of Mantua.

London, — June 1522.

[*Latin. Copy.*]

June.
Mantuan Archives.

491. The SAME to DON JOHN MANUEL, Imperial Ambassador in Rome.

Letter on the same subject.

London, — June 1522.

[*Spanish. Copy.*]

July 4.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 174, St. Mark's Library.

492. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Has received a letter of reproof from the State in reply to what he wrote from Bruges on the 20th of May about the articles which he had drawn up for an agreement between the Emperor and the Signory. Perceiving the quiet of the State to hang by a hair, was compelled to take an unusual course. When the Chancellor requested him to draw up articles of agreement, did not consent without making much opposition. Had he refused to draw them up, his sincerity would have been doubted, and the negotiation must have failed,—a result which, considering the news from England, and the events in Italy, appeared very injurious to the State.

Hampton, Thursday, 4th July 1522.

[*Italian, 1½ page.*]

July 5.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 175, St. Mark's Library.

493. The SAME to the SAME.

Late last evening at Hampton, where he (Contarini) was preparing for his voyage to Spain, the Emperor issued a proclamation ordering everybody to embark immediately, as he purposed proceeding on his voyage to Spain with the first fair wind. On the same evening received letters from the Signory, dated the 16th June, addressed to himself and Surian. Was unable to obey the orders they contained, because the King and Cardinal Wolsey departed from the Emperor at Bishop's Waltham. With regard to offering the galleys for the Emperor's voyage to Spain, the Signory will perceive that he does not make use of them, and that they remain in England at

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the disposal of the King. Was also unable this morning to acquaint the Chancellor and the Bishop of Palencia with the cause of the delay of the Signory's answer to the proposal for adjustment, as they were much occupied with the Emperor at the Council board, and making arrangements for his departure.

Was informed by the Papal Nuncio, Caracciolo, that his new colleague, the Dominican monk the Bishop of Astorga, had audience on the morning before last, first of the King and then of the Emperor, and exhorted them both, in the Pope's name, to make peace or truce with France. The King replied that he had always been the most obsequious son of the Apostolic See, and desirous of union among Christians, but the King of France had committed so many outrages against him, all of which he enumerated one by one, that he would have neither peace nor truce of any sort with France, and chose to end the dispute sword in hand. While expressing himself thus the King was in a very great rage.

The same proposals made by the Nuncio to the Emperor met with a similar reply, his Majesty detailing the injuries received from France in like fashion as the King of England, but not so angrily, in accordance with his gentler nature.*

This afternoon acquainted the Chancellor (Gattinara) with the offer of the galleys, and with the cause of the delay with regard to the adjustment. The Chancellor replied that the Imperial ambassador had written the like from Venice, but the State was procrastinating.

Hampton Court, Friday, 5th July 1522.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page*.]

July 8.
Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 100, tergo.

494. The DOGE and SENATE to GASPARO CONTARINI and ANTONIO SURIAN.

By their letters, dated the 13th, 16th, and 19th of June, perceive what was notified to Surian, first by the Bishop of Durham and subsequently by Cardinal Wolsey, *scilicet*, that a general peace and league ought to be formed. This is very satisfactory. Expect to find the conditions fair and reasonable, as they will be devised and drawn up by Cardinal Wolsey, and the cordial affection of the King and Cardinal towards the Signory's interests is very notorious, and in perfect accordance with the State's respect for the King's ancestors, for his Majesty himself, and for the Cardinal.

Assent to the proposal of Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of Durham that no special recognition or explanation should be made of all the towns belonging to the Empire now held by the State, in order to avoid entering into a chaos, and to arrive at a general conclusion.

Approve their reply to Cardinal Wolsey respecting the disbursement of money. Constant and excessive expenditure has been sustained by the Republic to secure her territory against the powerful military and naval armaments of Sultan Solyman, which are destined for the invasion of Christendom, as the accompanying newsletters

* "Ma non con tanto sdegno, juxta la sua piu mite natura."

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will testify. It will be necessary for Venice to continue this expenditure, as the Sultan is young, very powerful, and extremely hostile to the Christian race. Have increased their fleet already to the amount of 50 galleys.

Hope that on the receipt of this letter the galleys will have returned, or else that the King and Cardinal will grant them speedy despatch.

Ayes, 180. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian, 51 lines.*]

July 10. **495.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 350.

The Emperor and Contarini embarked for Spain on the 7th. The King of England has not yet dismissed the Signory's galleys, nor restored their guns. Still less will he allow Venetian subjects to export merchandise from England, unless first of all the State declare itself the enemy of France and prove its hostility by deeds. On this subject Cardinal Wolsey has spoken to him (Surian) at great length.

The French fleet is near at hand. The King is much irritated against France. He has prepared 13,000 infantry, and will send them across to Calais to invade France as soon as the French fleet is at a distance.

London, 10th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 12. **496.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 396.

Told by King Francis that 10,000 English have crossed over to France, but as yet they have performed no exploit. The Emperor had arrived in Spain, and was mustering all his forces, with the intention of attacking France at Fonterabia. King Francis is intent on reinforcing the place, and has no thought for the affairs of Italy; so that he (Badoer?) finds himself in great trouble.

Dated 12th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th September.*

[*Italian.*]

July 14. **497.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 360.

King Francis is on the eve of departure for Blois, and has received intelligence through certain fishermen that the English crossed over to France, and encountered no small defeat at the hands of the French. Narrates his conversations with the King, who seems much to approve of the Signory's proceedings, and also of what was written to England.

Lyons, 12th and 14th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 4th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 17. **498.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 176, St. Mark's Library.

Wrote from Hampton on the 5th that the Emperor had ordered the whole court to embark in the course of that day. His commands could not be executed. In the evening, while he (Contarini) was at supper with the captain of the Flanders galleys, the Emperor made his appearance at the waterside, and the captain, the masters,

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and all the Venetian noblemen put ashore from the galleys and presented themselves.

The captain and masters having kissed the Emperor's hand, he (Contarini) delivered the message contained in the Signory's letter of the 17th ult., offering the galleys for his voyage to Spain, and inviting him to inspect them immediately. The Emperor appeared pleased with the offer, and said it was too late to see the galleys then, but he would come on the morrow. Arrangements were made to do him honour, confections prepared, &c., but the Emperor did not keep his appointment, for he communicated next morning (the 6th), and embarked immediately after dinner. All his followers did the like, according to proclamation.

Throughout that day and night the fleet remained close to the town, and then on the 7th, with the ebb tide, dropped down to the harbour's mouth, and set sail with as fair a wind and as smooth a sea as could be desired. Last evening, the 16th, we entered the harbour of St. Ander. The Emperor landed instantly, but the whole court remained on board until this morning. The Emperor is expected to remain at St. Ander until the horses are landed and the passengers recover from the effects of the sea voyage. He will then proceed towards Castille.

The Pope is said to be at Taragona. It is not yet known whether he will have an interview with the Emperor.

Has heard from the English ambassador, the Florentine Spinelli, (the King of England having now no other ambassador resident with the Emperor,) that on the voyage he spoke a vessel termed by them a pinnace, which was conveying letters to his King from the Admiral [the Earl of Surrey] and Sir Richard Wyngfeld, who are on board the English fleet. The information received by Spinelli purported that they had taken two places in Britanny, one of which numbered 2,000 hearths [Morlaix?], and that they had advanced eight leagues, doing much mischief, and meeting with no resistance. This intelligence greatly rejoiced the Imperial court.

St. Ander, 17th July 1522.

P.S.—This letter has been detained until the 18th. Had audience of the Emperor, and congratulated him on his safe arrival in Spain, and on his success, which was communicated yesterday to him (Contarini) by the Chancellor.

The Emperor returned thanks, and then said, "I have news that the King of France has recalled his troops from Italy, and considers his affairs there hopeless. I trust in God everything will go well."

Before quitting England the Bishop of Palencia had a slight attack of fever, and is not yet convalescent.

[*Italian*, 5 *pages*.]

July 18. **499. English Invasion of France.**

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 334.

This morning, in the College, the Frenchman, Mons. de Montmorency, showed a letter he had received from the King of France, stating that his troops had gained a victory over the English, who entered the French territory, and that ——— were killed. The

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members of the College do not credit this; it is French gossip, to benefit their affairs.

[*Italian.*]

July 21. **500.** Pope Adrian VI.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 338. Return of the courier who went to the Pope with the letter from the Signory. He brings a very bland reply dated ———, — miles from Vittoria, 3rd of July. The Pope thanks the State for the offers made to him. He has determined not to quit Spain until the spring, because the plague is in Rome, though he wishes to be there in order to arrange the affairs of the world. He had sent an ambassador to the King of England, exhorting him not to make war on France, and had done the like by the Emperor. They answered him that for fitting causes they could not do otherwise. The Pope writes that many potentates do not care to keep back the Turks, whom he urges the Republic to resist, for the welfare of Christendom. He praises the Signory greatly.

[*Italian.*]

July 22. **501.** Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 371. It is hoped the Signory's galleys will be dismissed. His barber has died of the plague.

Dated 22nd July. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th August.*

[*Italian.*]

July 23. **502.** The Flanders Galleys.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 338. On the morning of the 23rd the Doge was not in the College, and several letters were read from the ambassadors Surian and Contarini, the last dated London, the 6th instant. The Emperor had not yet crossed over to Spain, but was to go on the 7th, as his fleet was all ready. The King had made all the Venetian galleys unload, and taken their guns, which he intended to place at a point where the French fleet was expected to land. The forces of the King of England were on the point of crossing over to Calais, in number 15,000 foot and horse. Vincenzo Priuli, the captain of the Flanders galleys, refused to deliver the guns, as they belonged to the Signory, and he had no commission to that effect; so the English seized them, promising that they should be restored on the departure of the French fleet.

[*Italian.*]

July 24. **503.** Florentine Manufactures for Henry VIII.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 107, tergo. Motion in the Senate, that whereas the reverend ambassador of the King of England resident at Rome* has made an earnest demand of the Signory's ambassador there for free transit through the Venetian territory, without payment of any duty, for the undermentioned pieces of cloth of gold and silk, which the King has had

* At the end of April 1522 Dr. John Clerk and Richard Pace were the English ambassadors at Rome. Pace remained there until August. (See "State Papers," vol. vi. pp. 88–120.)

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wrought in Florence for his own use; and whereas it would be advantageous to the Signory, especially in these times, to gratify his Majesty:—

Put to the ballot, that by authority of this Council, Zuan Cavalchante, or any other legitimate agent of the said King, be allowed to convey through the Signory's territory, and even through the city of Venice, duty free, the pieces of cloth of gold and silk specified in the list transmitted by the Signory's ambassador aforesaid; and that letters patent be made out accordingly.

Ayes, 148. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 16 *lines*.]

July 28. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 109.

504. The DOGE AND SIGNORY to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Received letters from him and Contarini, dated 26th and 29th June. By his letter of 5th July are made acquainted with the reason which prevented the delivery to Cardinal Wolsey of the Signory's missive dated 17th June. Wish to hear what has been done by the Cardinal, who has doubtless given him (Surian) the form of the articles according to promise. The Reverend [Richard] Pace, by whom the Cardinal intended to send them, is on his way hither from Rome. Are anxious to receive them, having heard from Contarini that the Chancellor [Gattinara] had accused the State of procrastinating.

The Signory is awaiting the articles in order to be enabled to reply to the proposal for a triple league. Is to represent this to the Cardinal. Hope that the King and Wolsey will offer them reasonable terms. The quiet and maintenance of the Venetian Republic will be advantageous to Christendom.

Is to tell Cardinal Wolsey that the Chancellor [Gattinara] complained that the State was reinforcing her army, at the suit of the King of France, and urging him to come into Italy. The complaint had no ground of truth. The Signory sent all her cavalry some time since into their usual quarters, the infantry garrisoning the cities according to custom, and no reinforcements have been made. Have, moreover, given leave to their Proveditor-General, Gritti, to return home.

Ayes, 188. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian*, 45 *lines*.]

July 28. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 109.

505. The SAME to GASPARO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with Charles V.

Have not yet received the articles of agreement between the Emperor and the Signory which Cardinal Wolsey promised to draw up. Suppose this delay to proceed from the Cardinal's having been occupied with arranging other matters between his King and the Emperor, prior to the departure of the latter for Spain.

Ayes, 188. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian*, 42 *lines*.]

1522.
July 28.
Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 110, tergo.

506. The DOGE AND SIGNORY to the CAPTAIN of the FLANDERS GALLEYS.

Received his letters of 21st June. Grievous loss and expense will be incurred by the "masters" and the merchants of Venice if the stay of the galleys in England be further prolonged, as is to be feared. Have therefore written to the King of England and Cardinal Wolsey to allow the immediate departure of the galleys. On obtaining this permission the captain is instantly to reload the goods, and as there will probably be more wools than the galleys can hold, the following regulations are to be observed.

All the merchants are to load by "rate" such wools as they have collected.

As the wools laden in the first instance will have paid duty, and must necessarily be re-shipped, the shippers who failed to obtain their "rate" on board the two first galleys are to be allowed it in the third.

Each shipper loading contrary to these regulations to be liable to penalty of 50 ducats for each bale (*balon*) thus loaded, and 25 ducats for each poke (*poca*), besides the freights. Such penalties to be applied to the use of the Arsenal.

Having done this, the captain is to come straight to Venice without touching at any place except in Sicily.

As the controller (*cantaruol*) of Hampton, by order of the King, has taken the guns of the Signory's galleys, and had them conveyed to a place 12 miles off, for the safety and defence of a large royal ship which is lying there, if the guns be not already restored the captain is to make suit for their restitution, and if that be delayed, he is then to obtain other guns for the security of the galleys. Should this be impossible, he is to divide equally the guns which remain on board the galleys, and set sail immediately. Warn him, however, not to depart against the will of the King.

Ayes, 163. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian, 45 lines.*]

July 31.
Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 177, St. Mark's Library.

507. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor remained at St. Ander until St. Andrew's Day, the 25th. Last evening he arrived at this place. Discussed many topics with the Chancellor Gattinara on the way hither. The Chancellor informed him that the King of England intends to persevere in the war with France, and thus render himself master of Scotland, making that kingdom his fief, and trying to get his sister [Margaret] and her son into his own hands.

With regard to Cardinal Wolsey, the Chancellor said he was a man of little religion,* and that during the negotiations between the Emperor and England, Wolsey rejected a clause which had been inserted respecting the defence of Hungary against the Turk, saying, "Let us first expel these Turks here at hand," meaning the French. The Chancellor also accused him of avarice, and stated that Wolsey was not ashamed to demand of the Emperor, for himself and some other personages of the English Court, an annual pension of twenty-

* "Che l'era uno homo poco religioso."

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The Chancellor also said that Wolsey chose to meddle with the agreement between the Emperor and the Signory for the sole purpose of gaining a considerable amount of ducats from the Republic. And here Gattinara vituperated the embargo laid on the Flanders galleys by the King of England and the Cardinal, saying the Emperor would never have done such a thing. The Chancellor suspects that, were the slightest pretext afforded, they would seize the effects of the merchants, and appropriate to themselves the galleys likewise.

The Chancellor also stated that the Emperor was expecting two ambassadors from England, namely, Sir Thomas Boleyn—who together with the Grand Prior [Sir Thomas Docwra] was accredited to him last winter—and Dr. Sampson. On this he (Contarini) congratulates himself, as the Florentine, Spinelli, professes open enmity to Venice. Was told the other day by the Siennese ambassador, that during the voyage on shipboard Spinelli examined some Biscayans, from whom he elicited that the Signory's galleasses (not specifying whether they were those of Flanders or others) supplied the Infidels with iron. Spinelli drew up a precognition respecting this matter, and sent it to the King and Cardinal, that, in addition to other reasons, they might assign this one for the embargo laid by them on the galleys at Hampton. When at St. Ander Spinelli announced this to the Emperor, who answered him, "Verily the Venetians ought to pension you, in order to diminish the intense enmity you bear them." Spinelli also requested the Siennese ambassador to acquaint him (Contarini) with these his good offices to the detriment of the State. Imparted them to the Chancellor, who appeared to know nothing at all about the matter. He answered, laughing, "Who commissioned him to draw up a precognition?" This proved that the Chancellor held Spinelli in small account. The whole court, moreover, estimates him in like manner, considering him a spy rather than an ambassador.

The Emperor will depart hence tomorrow for Palencia, and there appoint the place of meeting for the Cortes; but first of all he will go alone from Palencia to Tordesillas to visit his mother [Queen Juana].

Aguilar, 31st July 1522.

[*Italian*, 2¾ *pages.*]

Aug. 1. **508.** The Proposed Triple League.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 356. In the afternoon the Sages sat in committee to discuss the reply to England, and will make it tomorrow in the Senate.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. **509.** Embassy from Henry VIII. to Venice.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 361. The English ambassador, Richard Pace, is anxiously expected. He is coming from Rome to Venice with a commission from the King and Cardinal Wolsey, who is "*alter rex*," to conclude the

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agreement and bring the articles. He is expected hourly. It has been determined to receive him with great honour, and to lodge him in the house ——— (*in la caza*).

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5. **510.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 178, St. Mark's Library.

Has been informed by the Chancellor that the King of France, through the Pope, is requesting the Emperor to make truce and peace with him, on this condition, that during the truce France is to retain the three fortresses now held by her in the Milanese, and on the expiration of the truce the fortresses to be provided with the same amount of troops, victuals, and ammunition as at present.

To obtain peace he was willing to cede the duchy of Milan, to pay the tribute for the kingdom of Naples, and to surrender Fonterabia, but he insisted on the marriage between his daughter and the Emperor taking place.

The Chancellor said he would approve of such a form of peace, could it be made; but consideration must be had for the King of England, the Emperor's confederate, whom it was neither possible nor fitting to desert. On this account the Chancellor came to the conclusion that neither peace or truce would be stipulated.

Palencia, 5th August 1522.

[*Italian, 3 pages.*]

Aug. 6. **511.** DEFEAT of the FRENCH by the ENGLISH.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 361.

The Mantuan ambassador came into the College with the Chiefs of the Ten, and held a long conference. It is supposed they discussed some rout which the English had given to the French, for the French ambassador, who also had audience of the Signory, seemed to be very downcast.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. **512.** LETTER to ANTONIO SURIAN.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 361.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages, and carried, for a letter to Antonio Surian, the Signory's ambassador in England, of the the following tenor:—

On the arrival at Venice of the English ambassador Richard Pace (who, according to news from Rome, was about to commence his journey), the Signory will negotiate the truce and peace with the Emperor. Request the King to allow the Flanders galleys to depart. With regard to the King of France having broken the truce made in 1418 (*sic*),* whereby he showed himself the Signory's enemy, Surian is to state that the Republic acts upon the principle of never attacking any one.

[*Italian.*]

* Query 1518? There is no mention of any truce or of the treaty of London in the "Deliberazioni Senato," date 7 August, nor yet of the King of France, but possibly both one and the other were mentioned in debate, and Sanuto inferred that the letter was of the same tenor.

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Aug. 7. **513.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 411.

King Henry and the Cardinal refuse to dismiss the Republic's galleys until they receive the reply from Venice.

Dated 7th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 111, tergo.

514. The DOGE AND SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Since their last of the 19th ult. have received letters from their ambassador in England, who announces having been told by the King that he had charged his ambassador Pace, resident in Rome, to go to Venice and negotiate an arrangement between the Emperor and the State. The Venetian ambassador at Rome has also written about Pace's coming. Desire him (Badoer) to communicate this to the King of France. Will notify Pace's proposals.

Cardinal Wolsey and the King of England told the ambassadors Surian and Contarini that they chose to accommodate the Emperor for his voyage to Spain with the three Venetian galleys which are in Hampton harbour. For that purpose they caused the galleys to be unladen, and then took their guns, much to the detriment of the "masters" and merchants, but the Emperor set sail without making use of them. Although the ambassador has earnestly requested their dismissal, the Doge and Senate do not yet know whether it has been conceded. This likewise is to be communicated to King Francis.

[*Italian*, 26 *lines.*]

Aug. 7. Senato Mar, v. xx. p. 28.

515. DETENTION OF THE FLANDERS GALLEYS AT HAMPTON.

Motion made in the Senate,—That as nothing is known about the departure of the Flanders galleys from Hampton, and as there is only sufficient wool in the city to afford work for one month; it is necessary to make opportune provision for the importation of wool, which is well nigh the chief source of livelihood for the population of Venice.

Put to the ballot,—That for the next six months Frankish wools from England may be imported by sea in native or foreign bottoms, or by land from the staple at Calais, on payment to the masters of the Flanders galleys, commanded by Vincenzo Priuli, at the rate of only one half of the freight to which the wools would have been subjected if loaded in the galleys according to the auction contract.

Ayes, 153. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 1.

This decree communicated to the consul in London, and proclaimed from the "Edict Stone" at Rialto.

[*Italian*, 16 *lines.*]

Aug. 8. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 112, tergo.

516. The DOGE AND SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Have received his letters dated the 10th and 13th June, giving a full account of his conferences with Cardinal Wolsey and the King. To repeat his congratulations on the successes in Scotland and Britanny, and to execute the commission given him on 17th June

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with regard to the articles drawn up by the Ambassador Contarini, and revised by the Imperial Chancellor (Gattinara). Have awaited the modification which the Cardinal promised to effect. The Venetian ambassador at Rome has just announced that the Reverend Richard Pace, who was coming with the King's commission, will depart thence tomorrow for Venice.

Will send their reply to all the proposals which he is to make. To assure the King in the meanwhile that the State is desirous of peace with the Emperor. Have given proofs of their goodwill towards him during the late disturbances. When, on lately evacuating Cremona, the French men-at-arms requested permission to quarter themselves in the Venetian territory, it was denied them.

Peace between Christians is greatly needed. Last year the Great Turk conquered Belgrade, Serimia [Servia?], and a great part of Hungary. During the last few months he has taken the fortresses of Scardona and Tuina (*sic*) in Croatia. He is now besieging Rhodes in person, with 300 sail and an army of 100,000 men,—a terrible and fearful thing to every nation, however remote, but above all to the Signory, whose neighbour he is. The Republic is compelled to incur excessive expenditure for the defence of her possessions.

The Captain-General is at sea. This was the reason why the State recalled her proveditors-general of the army, broke the infantry and light horse, and sent the Governor with all the men-at-arms into garrison. False therefore are the reports that the Signory's army in Italy is being augmented for the purpose of renewing the war in Italy. To acquaint the King and Cardinal with these facts.

The Imperial ambassador has had audience of the Signory, and read to them the articles of the league between the Emperor and the King of England, wherein place is reserved for the State, on condition that first of all, either by peace or truce, they should come to an agreement with the Emperor.

Request the King and Cardinal to draw up the agreement in an acceptable manner.

[*Italian*, 81 *lines*.]

Aug. 8. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 114.

517. The Doge and Senate to Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Hope the galleys will be set at liberty, as neither the Pope* nor the Emperor mean to make use of them. Wrote on the 29th ult. to the King and Cardinal.†

Again desire Surian to make urgent suit for the release of the galleys. His Majesty invited the State to send them, and interceded with the Emperor to obtain safeconducts for them.

The "masters," merchants, and oarsmen will be ruined. As the trade is not less profitable to the subjects of his Majesty than to the Venetians, trust that the release will be effected by the Cardinal

[*Italian*, 35 *lines*.]

* At the time of his election the Pope was in Spain, and departed thence by sea on the 2nd of August 1522.

† The registers of these letters have not been discovered.

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Aug. 8. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 114.

518. The DOGE and SENATE to GASPARO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

The Emperor's ambassador has recently read to them the articles of the league between the Emperor and the King of England, but gave them no copy of the articles, one of which reserves place for the Signory, provided they first of all make peace or truce with the Emperor.

Are expecting the arrival of an English ambassador, the Reverend Richard Pace. Suppose his mission relates to this matter.

Send a copy of their letter to Surian.

Ayes, 164. Noes, 27. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 9. Misti Consiglio X. v. xlv. p. 70.

519. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to FRANCESCO DONATO, Captain of Padua.

By his letter of the 7th are informed of what he has done with that English "mylord "* about the Rev. Richard Pace. Commend him for making every loving demonstration towards that "mylord"; to let him know that the coming of Pace will be agreeable by reason of his eminent qualities and rare endowments, and because he is known to bear affection to the State, according to the testimony of all Venetian ambassadors who have resided in England, and of the Venetian ambassador in Rome. The Signory is pleased that their affairs are to pass through his hands.

To acquaint Dom. Leonico,† who lectures (*leze*) to the aforesaid English "mylord," with the Signory's good disposition towards Pace, so that Leonico may, as of himself, bear witness to it.

To meet Pace on his arrival at Padua and welcome him, declaring how acceptable is his coming to the Signory, and that the State considers him as a native Venetian. To render Pace as well-disposed as possible.

To defray the expenses of Pace and his retinue; but should he lodge in the house of the aforesaid English "mylord," to furnish him with victuals sufficient for the board of himself and his attendants, and with corn for the horses.

Have heard that D. Leonico was tutor to Pace. Leonico is to accompany Pace as far as Venice, letting it appear that he performs this office spontaneously.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 33 *lines.*]

Aug. 11. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlv. p. 72, tergo.

520. REPLY of the COUNCIL OF TEN to a proposal made by the Apostolic Legate [Altobello Averoldi, Bishop of Pola] in Venice.

Have heard with pleasure the statement made by him on the 9th in the name of the Cardinal de' Medici.

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* "*quel Monsigr. Anglese.*" Reginald Pole?

† Tomeo Nicola Leonico, of Albanian origin, a learned Venetian scholar. He was Greek Professor at Padua, and a very virtuous man. He died in 1531 at the age of 75. His biographers do not record his intimacy with Reginald Pole and Richard Pace, which is here recorded by the Council of Ten.

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Have been informed by their ambassador in Rome that the Rev. Richard Pace, ambassador from the King of England and the Cardinal of York, would commence his journey in two or three days.

Ayes, 3.

Proposed amendment:—That this matter be delayed until Pace's arrival.

Ayes, 9. Noes, 12.

[*Italian*, 34 *lines*.]

Aug. 11. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlv. p. 73.

521. REPLY by the COUNCIL of TEN and JUNTA to the Apostolic Legate on his departure from Venice.

Have been perfectly satisfied with his good proceedings.

Respecting the negotiation with England, inform him they are expecting Pace's arrival from Rome. He will doubtless favour the Republic's interests, according to his wont.

Have always wished for peace with the Emperor.

Ayes, 3. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 22 *lines*.]

Aug. 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 378.

522. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The Flanders galleys have not yet been dismissed. It is not allowed even to send merchandise from England to Venice by land until the receipt of the Signory's reply.

Has conversed with Cardinal Wolsey, who wishes to make an adjustment between the Signory and the Emperor, on condition that the Republic should pay 500,000 ducats for the investiture of the towns. Represented to the Cardinal that the sum proposed was too great, as the Signory has incurred and is still incurring vast expenditure for the outfit of galleys, &c.

The English no longer desire war with France, but that affairs should be quieted.

Dated 12th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st August.*

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 14. Contarini's Letter Book, Letter no. 179, St. Mark's Library.

523. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Has heard that the Emperor does not approve of the mission of a Papal Nuncio to France, as the Pope did not inform him of the appointment.

On the evening before last a knight of St. John's of Jerusalem, sent by the Grand Master, arrived here, having performed the journey in 40 days. He announces that Sultan Solyman was come to Rhodes with 200 sail, and had already landed troops and cannon to bombard the city. The Chancellor told him (Contarini) that the Emperor was sorry to hear this, and wrote instantly to Naples, desiring the grant of permission to the Rhodians to export thence provisions, artillery, and whatever else they may require, without payment of duty or gabel; and he will send some ships and barks to assist the besieged.

The Chancellor stated that the Imperial ambassador at Venice had written that the Signory had not given him any reply, saying it was expedient to await the arrival of the English ambassador,

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Pace. The Chancellor added, "Our ambassador also writes to us that you are good Frenchmen, and the State is sending her fleet, not to succour Rhodes, but to Corfu." Is apprehensive lest the Emperor should require the State to proceed to greater lengths than desirable against Sultan Solyman.

The Emperor has had several of the leaders of the commons in various places arrested. He has caused several to be beheaded, including Don Pedro ——, cousin-german of the Count of Benevente.*

Palencia, 14th August 1522.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

Aug. 17.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 370.

524. Expected Arrival of Richard Pace in Venice.

Some knights, doctors of laws, and others, members of the Senate, were summoned to go and meet the English ambassador, Dom. Richard Pace, of whose arrival at Ferrara intelligence has been received.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 18.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 115, tergo.

525. The Doge and Senate to Alvise Gradenigo, Venetian Ambassador at Rome.

Having received a brief from the Pope dated the 9th August, announcing his embarkation for Italy, the Senate decreed that an embassy extraordinary of six individuals should be sent to congratulate him on his arrival at Rome.

Ayes, 150.

Proposed amendment to the foregoing letter:—That the election of the ambassadors be suspended until the Pope's arrival at Rome, and until the Senate become acquainted with the proposals of the English ambassador, who is shortly expected at Venice.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 47 *lines*.]

Aug. 20.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 180, St. Mark's Library.

526. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

No intelligence has been received from England since our departure thence. Heard an unauthenticated rumour that the English who landed in Britanny had been repulsed by the French. The Emperor is to quit Palencia on Friday next for Valladolid, where he will hold the Cortes.

Delegates from Valencia have arrived at the court to beg pardon of the Emperor for the insurrection of the commons in that city some months ago. At Xativa some disturbance still prevails.

Palencia, 20th August 1522.

P.S., dated the 22nd.—The Papal Nuncio, the Bishop of Astorga, heretofore sent to England to the Emperor and the King by the Pope, has now arrived at Bilboa.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

* Robertson, on the contrary, writes that on the Emperor's arrival in Spain "he refused to shed any more blood by the hands of the executioner."

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527. RICHARD PACE at VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 372.

The ambassador from the King of England, Dom. Richard Pace, arrived today. The noblemen appointed went to meet him as far as the island of Santo Spirito.* He lodged at Cà Dandolo in "*Calle delle Rasse*,"† heretofore the residence of the Imperial ambassador, who is gone to live at San Severo in Cà Zorzi, for which the Signory pays an annual rental of 150 ducats.

On the 21st this English ambassador came into the College with the noblemen deputed to accompany him, and the Doge moved a few steps towards the edge of the platform to meet him. He was much caressed. He presented his credentials, and spoke in general terms. When the Doge rose, he addressed him by the title of "*Veneranda Senectus*,"‡ and they embraced.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 21.

528. RICHARD PACE at VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 373.

The English ambassador came into the College this morning and presented his King's letter dated ———, 22nd June 1522.‖ It purports that according to the articles of the league the Republic is bound to attack the King of France, as he was the first to violate them. He therefore beseeches the Signory to give him a speedy reply. Pace said, "This is the letter. Your Serenity will answer me concerning the other matters which I have to negotiate. I will come tomorrow and make my statement."

All the members of the Senate who had accompanied the ambassador were dismissed, and he remained in the College with a few of his own followers.

On the morning of the 22nd, two Sages for the Mainland, Ferigo da Molin and Francesco Contarini, were sent to bring Pace to audience. On entering the College, he said he would read the instructions which he had received from his King, and which were to the following effect:—That Pace was to come to Venice to persuade the Doge and Signory to comply with the articles of the league stipulated in —— [London, 1518–1519 ?], and declare themselves hostile to the King of France for his having been the first to violate it. That the King of England and the Emperor, both by land and sea, intended to attack him, and that the Signory should do the like.

Pace also said that his King has determined to make war on the King of France for eight causes. First, because the King of France seized the kingdom of Navarre and took it from the Emperor, which he was not at liberty to do. Secondly, that he has given assistance

* By this it would appear that Pace came down the Po from Ferrara, instead of passing through Padua, to see Reginald Pole, as the Signory had anticipated.

† Cà Dandolo on the Riva de' Schiavoni. The house is yet standing; it is an inn styled "Albergo Reale." The Giustinian palace at San Moise, also an inn (the "Europa" on the Grand Canal), was inhabited by the English ambassador, Viscount Fielding, from February 1635 to February 1639. The Molin palace, in which Thomas Killigrew resided as ambassador from Charles II. in 1562, is also an inn, with the name "Victoria," or "Regina d'Inghilterra."

‡ Antonio Grimani, the reigning Doge, was born in the year 1435, and died in 1523, May 7. (See Cicogna, Inscriptions, vol. i., p. 170.)

‖ The original document is among the "*Patti Sciolti*," and is dated London, 9th June 1522.

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to Robert de la Marck against the Emperor, a charge he can not deny, as his letters to that effect have been discovered. Thirdly, that he sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland contrary to agreements. Fourthly, that through the Duke of Albany he made the Scots wage war on the English. Fifthly, that he (the Duke) sent to France the brother-in-law of the King of England, the Earl of Angus, married to the King's sister, the widow of Scotland, and caused him to be imprisoned there, the Duke of Albany cohabiting with Angus's wife.* Sixthly, that the King of France favours and harbours the rebels of the King of England, including Richard de la Pole, called "White Rose." Seventhly, that the King of France has taken several English ships. Eighthly, that on these accounts the King of England has determined to be revenged on the King of France. He therefore requests the Signory to declare herself. But as there are disputes between the Emperor and the Republic, and the truce is about to expire, and as the Emperor says it has been violated by the State, the King of England offers his mediation in these disputes, and will make an adjustment.

All this was stated in the King's letter. Pace caused it to be read twice, but would not leave it.

The Doge made answer that the Sages would consult and reply. Pace said he had ever been the servant of the State, and that the Signory would receive constant proof of his good offices.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. **529.** LETTER to HENRY VIII.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p.376.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages, proposing a reply to the letter sent to the Signory by the King of England.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 25. **530.** REPLY by the SENATE to the IMPERIAL AMBASSADOR, DON ALFONZO SANCHES.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xxxiii. 116, tergo.

Thank the Emperor for having invited the State to join the league between himself and the King of England.

The English ambassador, Richard Pace, has proposed the mediation of the King of England in all matters of a harsh and difficult nature, and that the Signory should detach herself from France. Replied to Pace that they were willing to accept the King's mediation. Had wished to see the modification of the clauses by Cardinal Wolsey in England; that being impossible, will send powers and instructions for the conclusion of peace to both their ambassadors. With regard to joining the league between the Emperor and England, when the peace is made there will be no difficulty about this.

As to declaring against the King of France, it seems to them a matter for great consideration until they are assured of an adjustment with the Emperor, especially as the Pope, by briefs and

* "*Et esso Duca de Albania se impaza con la moglie.*" I do not know whether modern historians have recorded the imprisonment of Angus in France, and the charge of adultery brought by Henry VIII. against his own sister in 1522. In 1523, her "scandalous familiarity" with Henry Stuart was notorious, according to Lingard. These circumstances are mentioned in the King's instructions to Pace, printed in Strype's Memorials, vol. i. app. xiii. See also Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii. no. 2497.

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through his Legate, has exhorted the State to make a general peace, having sent his envoys to the Emperor and to England and France for that purpose. The formidable forces of the Great Turk have taken Scardona and Tenina [Temisvar ?], belonging to the King of Hungary, near the Venetian territory, and are now besieging Rhodes, to the universal peril of all Christians.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 43. Neutrals, 13.

[*Italian*, 54 *lines*.]

Aug. 25. **531.** REPLY of the SENATE to the REV. RICHARD PACE.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 117.

Compliment him on his learning and abilities; are grateful for the good offices which he has always rendered to the State.

Thank the King for his proffered mediation. Are desirous of peace with the Emperor.

On the 13th ult. their ambassador in England wrote that the King said he (Pace) would bring with him the modified articles which Cardinal Wolsey promised to draw up. If the articles be fair and reasonable, the Signory will ratify the treaty. But should he (Pace) have no further communication to make, the State will send instructions to the Venetian ambassadors for the stipulation of the peace.

With regard to making a declaration against France, state that they have not assisted the French more than they were bound to do by their alliance with the King of France, but they have always observed their truce with the Emperor. When the French men-at-arms in Cremona lately asked permission to enter the Venetian territory, the State refused it, in order not to offend the Emperor.

To declare themselves the enemies of the King of France appears to them a step requiring great consideration, as they have no certain prospect of an adjustment with the Emperor, and the Pope has exhorted them to make a universal peace, announcing the mission of his nuncios to the Emperor, the King of England, and the King of France.

Sultan Solyman has taken Scardona and Tenina in Hungary, and is now besieging Rhodes. But should peace between the Emperor and Venice be effected by King Henry good results will follow.

Ayes, 195. Noes, 12. Neutrals, 6.

[*Italian*, 78 *lines*.]

Aug. 26. **532.** RICHARD PACE, Ambassador at Venice.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 376.

In the morning he came into the College, and the reply of the Senate was read to him.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 26. **533.** PACE at VENICE.

Misti Consiglio X. v. xlv. p. 82.

Reply made to the reverend English ambassador, but modified (*castigata*) in the Council of Ten, for communication to the French ambassador in Venice, and sent to the Venetian ambassador in France, that he may communicate it to King Francis.*

Ayes, 29. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 40 *lines*.]

* Among others, the passage relating to the French men-at-arms in Cremona is omitted.

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Aug. 27. Misti Consiglio X. v. xlv. p. 83.

534. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Inform him that Pace, the English ambassador from Rome, has required them on behalf of his King to desist from succouring France, and to detach themselves from her, offering his King as mediator for a peace between the Emperor and the State. Enclose a copy of their reply, to be communicated to the most Christian King with the greatest secrecy.

Today Pace and the Imperial ambassador entered their presence and repeated the aforesaid proposal. Each of them presented letters patent in the name of his sovereign, purporting that the Signory, being comprised in the league of London between the French and English Kings, should persuade the former to desist from the war against the Emperor and England, to restore the places taken, and to make compensation for damages, as otherwise the Republic is bound to declare against France. To this the Signory has not yet made any reply.

To request King Francis to keep this communication secret.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 2. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian*, 30 *lines*.]

Aug. 27. Misti Consiglio X. v. xlv. p. 83.

535. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to ALVISE GRADENIGO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome.

A long account of their negotiations with the English ambassador Richard Pace, for communication to the Pope.

To detail the Pope's reply.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 56 *lines*.]

Aug. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 377.

536. DUCHY of MILAN.

The Imperial and English ambassadors came into the College together, desiring the Signory to write to the King of France to deliver the fortresses to the Duke of Milan.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 29. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 404.

537. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Wolsey is anxiously expecting the Signory's reply to Pace, and to Surian's letters. Should it be chosen to make peace, the Republic must restore the estates of the rebels.* The galleys have not yet been dismissed; the reply is awaited. The whole population of England is dissatisfied with this war, because they are made to pay, and do not approve of these affairs (*ste cosse*).

Dated 29th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th September.*

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 30. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 118, tergo.

538. REPLY of the SENATE to the IMPERIAL and ENGLISH AMBASSADORS.

Since the reply given to the proposals made by both of them, they have entered the Signory's presence together, and presented letters patent from the Emperor and the King of England, and demanded an answer.

* Viz., of Venetian subjects who had adhered to the Imperialists.

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Although the treaty of London was dissolved by the death of its principal, Pope Leo X., Venice still wishes for peace with the Emperor, but a declaration against France would be a matter of great moment, especially as they have no certainty of an adjustment with the Emperor. Will therefore await the resolve to be formed by the Emperor and the King of England, on the receipt of their previous reply.

In answer to Pace's inquiry whether, in the event of the King of France's return into Italy, the State would assist him; they remind him that the Signory lately refused, out of respect for the Emperor, to receive the French men-at-arms in the Venetian territory, when they quitted Cremona.

Ayes, 99–127.

Proposed amendment to the last clause.—With regard to your inquiry whether, if the King of France returned into Italy, we would assist him, we reply that if the Emperor welcomes us with a good peace or truce, we will satisfy his Majesty by not affording any favour to the most Christian King.

Ayes, 34. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 2–2.

Second amendment.—That the present matter be delayed until next Monday.

Ayes, 73–71.

[*Italian*, 28 *lines.*]

Aug. 31. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 119.

539. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Send a copy of their reply to the proposals of the ambassadors from the Emperor and England to be communicated secretly to the King of France.

[*Italian*, 24 *lines.*]

Aug. 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 378.

540. ANTONIO SURIAN, State Attorney.

In the afternoon the Grand Council assembled and elected as State Attorneys Piero Contarini and Antonio Surian, ambassador in England.

Motion made by the Sages and carried, that Antonio Surian having been elected State Attorney, (he being in the service of the State,) without salary, be allowed time to accept till three days after his arrival in Venice.

Ayes, 1085.* Noes, 103. Neutrals, 3.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 380.

541. NEGOTIATIONS WITH ENGLAND.

The Senate sat in the afternoon, and the letters from the Signory's ambassador in England were read with the strictest injunctions to secrecy.

Motion made by the Sages, and carried, for a letter of reply to the ambassador in England, that with regard to the investitures he is to tell Cardinal Wolsey that the State, although liable to heavy expenditure, is willing to give the Emperor as much as 300,000

* In the year 1793 the Venetian noblemen eligible to the Grand Council were in number about 1,560; in 1522 they seem to have amounted to 1,660 and upwards, as seen by the "*Consegi*" in St. Mark's Library.

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ducats, and send Surian a power (*synichà*) accordingly. Should the Emperor choose to prolong the truce for seven years, as proposed heretofore, the State would give him 50,000 ducats, for the sake of being able to attend to the Turkish affairs and to the welfare of Christendom.

Amendment proposed by the Sage of the Council, Polo Capello. —Surian to be authorized to stipulate payment of 400,000 ducats in instalments.* (Note by Sanuto, that the original motion in like manner stipulated payment in instalments.)

Original motion carried, and the greatest secrecy enjoined.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. **542.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 181, St. Mark's Library.

On the 25th the Emperor quitted Palencia, and arrived at Valladolid on the following Tuesday. Encloses letters from the ambassador Badoer in France, showing that the report of the rout of the English in Britanny was untrue. Has been told by the Governor of Bresse that they have already disembarked at Calais, after taking a castle belonging to the King of France.

The English ambassador, the Florentine Spinelli, fell sick of flux some days ago at Palencia, caused himself to be conveyed to Valladolid, and expired there on the day before yesterday. He was of a very sinister and imprudent nature, and a most bitter enemy to the Signory.

As yet nothing is known of the two other English ambassadors, who are coming to reside at the Emperor's court. Since the Emperor's arrival in Spain nothing has been heard from England. Is surprised he has received no letters from Surian.

Valladolid, 1st September 1522.

[*Italian, 2½ pages.*]

Sept. 1. **543.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 423.

The Emperor has mustered a large army, and no longer intends following up the attack on Fonterabia, but will send it to join the English forces in France, and attack Picardy.†

[Valladolid?], 1st September. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. **544.** The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 120, tergo.

An account of their negotiations with Pace and the Imperial ambassador. Send copies of their replies, for communication to the King and Cardinal. Enclose a missive to the King.

Give him, in accordance with the King's demand, full instructions respecting the five articles drawn up by the Imperial Chancellor. To procure a truce for the longest possible period,—for ten years at least,—with the disbursement of from 10,000 to 15,000 ducats per annum. Send him a power of attorney (*syndicato*) to conclude it

* The 50,000 ducats related apparently to the annual payment, which in the course of seven years would have amounted to 350,000 ducats. Capello proposed giving an extra 50,000.

† I am at a loss to comprehend this entry, as it does not agree with the contents of the despatch in the Contarini Letter Book, dated Valladolid, 1st September 1522.

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on the conditions mentioned in their instructions. Will not be bound to attack France, but only to refrain from assisting her.

The consent of Archduke Ferdinand is to be obtained for such matters as concern him.

P.S.—Have received his letters dated from 27th July to 11th August, alluding to a letter of the 4th, which they have not received. As it is of importance, desire him to send a duplicate. Have read the account of his conference with Cardinal Wolsey, about the peace with the Emperor. Are quite contented that the Cardinal, according to his desire, should be the negotiator (*compositor*) of this adjustment (*appunctamento*). Wolsey may promise himself anything that lies in the power of the State. Enclose a letter for him.

Rejoice at the King's successes. To congratulate his Majesty and the Cardinal thereupon.

Ayes, 128.

Proposed amendment to the foregoing letter :—

Should the ambassador be unable to stipulate the peace for 200,000 ducats, let him offer by degrees 300,000 ducats. If that sum do not suffice, he may raise it to 400,000 ducats, payable by instalments, at the most remote periods possible.

Ayes, 68. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 8.

[*Italian, 5 pages.*]

Sept. 1. **545.** Alvise Gradenigo to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 392.

Account of the coronation of the Pope [Adrian VI.], which took place in St. Peter's on the 1st.

The Pope summoned all the ambassadors to a consultation about Turkish affairs and succour for Rhodes. The English ambassador said, "The Signory has 50 armed galleys at sea; she might accomplish this." The Polish ambassador replied that the Signory alone, against so powerful an armada, is not sufficient. He (Gradenigo) also replied. Don Juan Emanuel, the Emperor's ambassador, said the Signory's ambassador spoke the truth, and this was confirmed by the Pope. Prior ———, the ambassador from Rhodes, was present. The Pope called the Protector of the order, Cardinal de' Medici, and desired him to arm two ships with 1,000 men each, and to send them to succour Rhodes.

The Pope has at heart the welfare of Christendom, and wishes to reform (*riconzar*) the Church. He told the Cardinals in consistory that it was wrong to keep such "*cavi*" [hoards?]; that each of them should be content with 6,000 ducats rental; and that many of them were not learned; so he chooses them to lead a new life.

Rome, 1st September. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. **546.** Proxy or Power of Attorney for Antonio Surian.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 124.

As Henry King of England, &c.* has offered himself as mediator for peace or truce between the Emperor and the Signory, the Doge

* This is the first Venetian document in which the title of "Defender of the Faith," conferred on Henry VIII. by Leo X. on 11th October 1521, is applied to him by the Signory.

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and Senate appoint as their procurator, agent, factor, syndic, and negotiator Antonio Surian, their ambassador in England, causing the document to be furnished with their pendent leaden seal.

Dated 2nd September 1522.

[*Latin*, 44 *lines*.]

Sept. 2. **547.** PACE at VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 391.

This morning the English ambassador, Richard Pace, came into the College, the Signory having sent for him. He was informed of the decision arrived at yesterday in the Senate, and requested to announce it to the King and Cardinal, in order that they may stipulate the adjustment.

He was pleased with this, and said he would write in good form.

[*Italian*.]

Sept. 2. **548.** The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to GASPARO CONTARINI, Venetian Ambassador with the Emperor.

Misti Consiglio X., v. xlv. p. 85.

Enclose papers relating to the negotiations of the English ambassador Pace, and the Emperor's ambassador with the Signory. Have empowered Surian to conclude the agreement.

Send him (Contarini) an ample mandate for the negotiation of peace or truce, but their intention is that the whole be conducted through the medium of the King of England.

Approve of the articles drawn up by him (Contarini), and revised by the Chancellor, except the words "*that we may be enabled to attend to the right holy expedition against the Infidels, especially in these times.*" Wish them to be cancelled, if an opportunity offer.

[*Italian*, 32 *lines*.]

Sept. 2. **549.** The SAME to ANTONIO SURIAN, Ambassador in England.

Misti Consiglio X., v. xlv. p. 85.

Acquaint him with the substance of their instructions to Contarini.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 9. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 27 *lines*.]

Sept. 9. **550.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 424.

King Henry has compelled the Flanders galleys to unload, and seized their cannon. He says openly that on no consideration will he release them until the Signory has made peace with the Emperor. The reply given to Pace has not reached London, where it is expected to arrive in two days.

London, 9th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th October.*

[*Italian*.]

Sept. 14. **551.** PACE at VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 398.

The ambassadors have frequent audiences. The English ambassador has quitted Cà Dandolo, and is gone to reside in the Doge's house at Santa Maria Formosa.* He (Pace) is somewhat indisposed.

[*Italian*.]

* As during the reign of Doge Antonio Grimani, he and his family resided in the ducal palace, their own mansion was apparently let.

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552. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 182, St. Mark's Library.

Ten days ago the Imperial cabinet received news through a spy from France that the English in Picardy, together with the Flemish foot and the 3,000 Spanish infantry lately sent thither, had encountered the French, and the loss was great on both sides, but the English were victorious, and subsequently took a good town belonging to the King of France. This intelligence has not been confirmed. No letters have been received from Flanders or England.

The Emperor sent lately to seize the Bishop of Zamora, one of the chiefs of the commons, who was in the hands of the Duke of Najera. The Bishop is now confined in a castle called —— [Simancas], two leagues hence.

The Emperor's confessor departed this life on the 14th, and leaves behind him the character of an excellent ecclesiastic.*

The Chancellor has acquainted him (Contarini) with the announcement made by the Imperial ambassador in Venice, concerning the delay of the Signory's decision until the arrival of Richard Pace. The Chancellor said, "Well! let the State trust to Cardinal Wolsey; they will see the result." Gattinara then repeated his former assertion, that Wolsey would fain obtain a sum of money from the Signory; and he did not seem to approve of this plan. Told him that the State wished for no other mediation than his own [Gattinara's], and waited for Pace's arrival only out of respect for the King of England.

Valladolid, 16th September 1521.

[*Italian*, 2½ *pages*.]

Sept. 16.

553. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 117.

Motion made in the Senate. As Antonio Surian, LL.D. and Knight, having resided with the King of England upwards of four and a half years, desires to return home,—Put to the ballot, that Lodovico Falier, appointed to that legation, depart for England within 20 days after the arrival of the safeconducts expected from the Emperor.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 23. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian*, 17 *lines*.]

Sept. 20.

554. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 183, St. Mark's Library.

On the 18th received letters from Surian, with missives from the State, desiring him (Contarini) to obtain a safeconduct from the Emperor for Lodovico Falier, ambassador elect to England.

Went to the Emperor yesterday, and acquainted him with the newsletters from Hungary. The Emperor inquired whether the State had come to a decision respecting the proposed league. Explained the causes of the delay.

Then asked the Emperor for the safeconduct, and for the release of certain ships. The Emperor referred him to the Chancellor.

Requests to be recalled.

Valladolid, 20th September 1522.

P.S., 24th September.—Death of the Bishop of Palencia.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

* He was a Franciscan; see the letter dated Ghent, 30th July 1521.

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Sept. 23. **555.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 427.

The Signory's reply has been received, and by no means will King Henry release the galleys. Has held conversations with the King and Cardinal Wolsey about the Republic's answer. The King insists that the Signory shall first attack France, after which the agreement or truce with the Emperor will be discussed, and that the State shall send to the King of France demanding the restoration of Fonterabia to the Emperor within a certain period, or otherwise the Republic will declare war on France.

Cardinal Wolsey also abused the Venetians grossly. He says they are promise-breakers, and the lowest of all potentates (*e infimi di tutti i principi*), and that if they refuse to act as they have been desired, his King and the Emperor will wage war on them.

Wolsey, moreover, does not choose anything to be exported from the island, not even in the name of [other ?] aliens, lest the Venetians should avail themselves of the opportunity. Many sailors and galley-oarsmen have departed for Venice.

London, 23rd September. *Registered by Sanuto, 12th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. **556.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 184, St. Mark's Library.

The Emperor has received the following news from the Indies (*delle Indie*).

Don Hernando Cortes, the Emperor's governor of the island of Cuba, discovered Yucatan some few years ago, and sent the Emperor presents from the natives, as a mark of homage, namely a golden sun and a silver moon, with other gifts, of which the State received notice at the time, in a letter from the ambassador Cornaro.*

Subsequently Don Hernando advanced farther, and found that Yucatan, which he had believed to be an island, was connected with the main land which stretches westward. He landed there, and, on penetrating into the interior, discovered various castles and cities, inhabited by a more civilized race than he had hitherto met with. At length he reached a city called La Scaltezza [Tlascala],† which governs itself in a republican fashion, and is very extensive. It was at war with a great potentate, of whom mention will be made hereafter. He claims jurisdiction over Scaltezza [Tlascala], whose inhabitants choose to be free.

On arriving at Scaltezza [Tlascala], Don Hernando easily persuaded the inhabitants to tender obedience to the Emperor and acknowledge his sway, the Spaniards telling them that his Imperial Majesty was Lord of this world.

They next advanced some 60 leagues inland, where they found a salt lake some 60 leagues in circumference, the water ebbing and flowing as in most seas. In the centre of this lake was a very

* The letter was dated Valladolid, 6th March 1520, and is copied in Sanuto's Diaries, vol. xxviii. p. 297.

† Concerning Tlascala *alias* Los Angelos and its republican institutions, see Busching's, vol. 32, pp. 98–99, ed. Venice, 1780, and Robertson's Geography, pp. 862–864, ed. London, 1831.

1522. large city, called Tenustitan,* said to number upwards of 40,000 hearths, whose Lord is the potentate claiming jurisdiction over Scaltezza [Tlascala]; and his territory has a circuit of 100 leagues. He is held in great veneration by all his subjects, who obey him implicitly, and are very civilized, save with regard to religion, being idolators; and they sacrifice human beings to their idols. They have also another cruel custom, that of eating all the enemies they kill in battle. Their dwellings are commodious and well decorated (*ben ornate*). Their garments and the hangings of their houses are of cotton cloth. They have abundance of gold, and although it is not in circulation among them as money, they nevertheless appreciate it and make use of it for various kinds of ornaments. All their contracts are made by bartering one commodity for another; but for the purchase of any trifles which they require, and which cannot conveniently be obtained by exchange, they employ as money a certain fruit, which is rare in those parts, and resembles the almond.

This city and its sovereign, on the arrival of the Spaniards, surrendered to them, but subsequently on the departure of the greater part of the Spaniards, they rebelled, and slaughtered those who remained, eating them according to the custom of the country. Thereupon Cortes sent thither a strong body of Spaniards, with cannon, and a band of natives of La Scaltezza [Tlascala], the rival city of Tenustitan [Tenuchtitlan], which was thus recovered, its sovereign resuming his allegiance to the Emperor.†

The inhabitants of these islands live on bread, made of Indian corn, and meat, their drink being a beverage resembling beer. They have no written alphabet, but indicate the most necessary objects by representations of animals and other things, after the fashion of the ancient Egyptians, though these characters do not serve for everything.

Such is the account given by the persons now arrived. Letters dated since their departure thence announce that the Spaniards who remained advanced so far that they reached the sea coast, though they do not explain whether it lay to the westward or southward.

On the 6th instant, there arrived at Seville one of the five ships [the Trinità ?] ‡ which three years ago the Emperor sent in quest of the Spice Islands, with certain Portuguese who made their escape from the King of Portugal.

By this ship the Emperor has received a letter, of which he (Contarini) encloses a copy, as likewise the Italian translation given him by the Chancellor.

Thereby the State will perceive that they went 54 degrees beyond the equinoctial line, that is to say, as much below the pole opposite to ours as England is below our own. Then on the right, to the westward, they found that strait of 100 leagues,§ and they discovered

* The ancient name of Mexico was Tenuchtitlan. (See Robertson's History of America.)

† According to Robertson the final surrender of Mexico took place on the 13th of August 1521.

‡ The "Trinità" seems to have been commanded by Juan Sebastian del Cano. Robertson (p. 891) was mistaken when writing that the "Victory" arrived at S. Lucar in 1522.

§ Magellan's Strait, discovered by him in 1519.

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those islands where every sort of spice grows [the Moluccas]. They returned by the same course as the Portuguese, namely, by the easterly track, so they have circumnavigated the world. They have brought 600 cwt. of cloves and nutmegs, and every other sort of spice. The "master"* is expected, and on his arrival he (Contarini) will transmit farther particulars.

The government is very sanguine about these spices, the superintendence of which has been assigned to the Bishop of Burgos.† They already talk of establishing the staple and trade at Corunna.

This circumstance is expected to kindle war between the Portuguese and the Emperor. The other day in Valladolid the government arrested a courier in the service of the King of Portugal, on his way to France. They seized the letters of certain individuals which were with the King's letter, but this last was left intact. Does not know whether the courier has been released.

Valladolid, 24th September 1522.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Sept. 27. Capi Consiglio X. Lettere Sottoscritte, File no. 5.

557. The CHIEFS OF THE TEN to GASPARO CONTARINI, Ambassador in Spain.‡

There arrived here the other day a certain Hieronimo de Marin de Busignolo, a native of Ragusa. On presenting himself to the Chiefs of our Council of Ten he declared he had been sent by one Sebastian Cabotto, who says he is a Venetian, and now resident at Seville, where he receives a salary from the Emperor as his "pilot major" for voyages of discovery.

On behalf of this individual the Ragusan made the enclosed statement. Although it is perhaps unworthy of much credit, yet by reason of its importance we did not choose to decline Sebastian's offer of coming hither to explain his project. We have permitted Hieronimo to answer him, as you will perceive by the accompanying letter.

Contrive cautiously to learn whether Sebastian be at the Imperial Court, or expected there shortly, in which case you are to send for him, and give him the letter bearing his address. We have tied it up with another, directed to the secretary. Elicit as much as you can concerning his project. Should it seem well grounded and feasible, urge him to come hither. Should he not be at the Court, forward the letter to Seville through some safe channel, giving the person entrusted with it to understand that you received it from one of your private correspondents.

We send you summaries of letters from our captain-general, dated Candia, the 5th inst., with accounts of the affairs of Rhodes, to be

* The "master" here alluded to was, I believe, Magellan. He never returned, having been murdered by the natives of one of the Philippine Islands. A notice of his ship, the "Victory," will be found *post*, date 8 February 1526.

† Concerning Fonseca, Bishop of Badajos, who was subsequently translated to Burgos, see Robertson's History of America.

‡ It will be seen hereafter, from these same archives of the Council of Ten, that whilst Sebastian Cabot was receiving pay and patronage from England in 1551, he made proposals to the republic of Venice, offering to act as unfairly by Edward VI. as he had been willing to do by the Emperor Charles V. some 30 years previously.

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communicated to the Emperor, the Grand Chancellor, and the Bishop of Palencia.

Julianus Gradonico, caput Consilii X.
Andrea Mudesco, caput Consilii X.
Dominicus Capello, caput Consilii X.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 27. **558.** ORDER from the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Capi Consiglio X. Lettere Sottoscritte, File no. 5.

That the Treasurer of our Council of Ten be enjoined, from the moneys of the chest, to give a largess of 20 ducats to Dom Hieronymo de Marin, Ragusan, for reason good [*i.e.*, on account of Sebastian Cabot].

Ayes, 16. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29. **559.** ENGLISH AMBASSADOR IN VENICE.

Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 121.

Put to the ballot,—that permission be granted to the ambassador of the King of England [Richard Pace] to bring into Venice, duty free, two kilderkins of wine, according to the terms of the auction.

Ayes, 110. Noes, 18. Neutrals, 0.

Permits were addressed to the office for the wine duties.*

[*Italian, 3 lines.*]

Sept. 30. **560.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 432.

In a certain engagement the French have routed the English. Paris, 30th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 1. **561.** MAFIO BERNARDO.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 421.

Today there arrived here from England Mafio Bernardo, son of the deceased banker Beneto. He has been some months over there, to transact his commercial affairs. He went with Hironimo da Molin, who got two bubos, and recovered. Bernardo, who never deserted him, also got a carbuncle, which burst, so he then took to horse and came home. It is said he means to get himself made procurator, and will give 10,000 ducats.†

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2. **562.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 466.

They had received news of the safe arrival of their fleet in England. ‡

* The persons who farmed the duties were probably liable to certain restrictions, at the option of the State.

† Bernardo's brother or nephew Francesco, at a later period, made peace between England and France, and in December 1546 Mafio Bernardo himself was murdered by hired assassins, and one of the ringleaders of the plot was Lodovico dalle Arme, a diplomatic agent accredited by Henry VIII. to the Republic of Venice.

‡ "Come haveano auto nova dil zonzer di l'armada soa a salvamento su l'ixola." Query, allusion to the expedition of Surrey, who renounced the siege of Hedin about the end of October and put his troops into winter quarters. (See Hume, vol. 3, p. 124, ed. London 1744.)

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Cardinal Wolsey is still angry about the Venetian galleys; and King Henry has laid a fresh duty on all the merchandise in England.*
Dated 2nd October. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st November.*
[*Italian.*]

Oct. 5. **563.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 441.

Cardinal Wolsey is more determined than ever. King Henry, moreover, is sending one Dom Hironimo Adorno, brother of the Governor of Genoa, as his ambassador to Venice, to remonstrate. Suggests that the agreement should be made.
London, 5th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th October.*
[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12. **564.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 186, St. Mark's Library.

On the 10th the Emperor received letters from his ambassador at Venice, stating that the Signory spoke him fair concerning the agreement, and purposed sending a "power" to England and to him (Contarini) in Spain; but the Imperial ambassador considered this a mere feint for the purpose of gaining time.
Presented to the Emperor the State's missive congratulating him on his safe arrival in Spain. The Emperor returned thanks, and then said, "Well, Lord Ambassador, have you nothing more than this to tell me? The Signory still persists in not coming to a decision." Replied that the delay had been caused by the expected arrival of Pace at Venice on the 21st. The Emperor made no rejoinder, but commenced discussing other light topics (*intrò in altri piacevel colloquij*).
Valladolid, 12th October 1522.
[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Oct. 13. **565.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 441.

Told by King Francis that the English intend to desist from their attack on France and return to England.
Poissy, 8th and 13th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th October.*
[*Italian.*]

Oct. 13. **566.** PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS in VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 427.

This morning the English ambassador, Richard Pace, came into the College, and remained there upwards of two hours.
Francesco Bragadin, Sage of the Council, stated to him the rights of the Signory, and said the King did wrong not to release the galleys, and not to observe the articles of the safeconduct. He then read to Pace the words uttered by Wolsey to Surian, that first of all he insisted on the Signory's attacking France, after which the truce and agreement should be discussed. Bragadin told Pace that for this likewise his King was very much to blame on many accounts, so that the ambassador could not but admit the Signory is in the right.

* Qu., merchandise belonging to Venetian subjects.

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The College determined to give up the negotiation with England, and to resume the negotiation with the Emperor through the Chancellor Gattinara.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 15. Misti Consiglio X. v. xlv. p. 102, tergo.

567. The Council of Ten and Junta to Antonio Surian, Ambassador in England.

Are disappointed by his five letters, dated from 19th to 23rd September, giving a detailed account of his negotiations with Cardinal Wolsey. The English ambassador [Pace] inquired what were the contents of these letters, as he had received none but private letters.

Informed Pace that whereas both Cardinal Wolsey and the King had offered to become mediators for the peace between the Signory and the Emperor, he (Wolsey) now chose the matter to be negotiated in Spain, and the Imperial ambassadors in England had no powers. This was a great surprise to the Signory; but they were still more surprised to learn that the Cardinal and the Imperialists choose the State to commence by attacking the King of France.

Told Pace that before they took such a step it was necessary they should come to an arrangement with the Emperor, and that they were willing to stipulate the following condition:—That if the French return into Italy, the Republic should be bound to desist from lending assistance to King Francis. With this Pace seemed to be satisfied.

Proceeded then to speak of the detention of the Flanders galleys, sequestrated in England in violation of the "*jus gentium*," and of the great damage and loss incurred by the poor masters, merchants, officials, and mariners, many of whom had quitted England in despair, and died on the road, begging their bread. Observed also, that it was the King who caused the Emperor to give the safe-conducts.

Pace listened with surprise and regret, as it appeared to him that reason was on our side. He inquired whether these statements had been communicated to the King. Being answered in the negative, he insinuated that this had not taken place by the King's command (*ex mente Regia*), but he enjoined strict silence as to what he had said, and promised to write and use his good offices.

To vindicate the State, if necessary, but not to divulge the regret expressed by Pace, or his insinuation that Wolsey's reply to him (Surian) was not in accordance with the King's intention.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 131.

568. The Doge and Senate to Alvise Gradenigo, Ambassador in Rome.

It is well known to the Pope that the State has always been anxious for peace with the Emperor. For many months have they been aiming at this, the negotiation being in the hands of the King of England.

Ayes, 134. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 29 lines.*]

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Oct. 16. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 131, tergo.

569. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Ambassador in France.

Acquaint him with Cardinal Wolsey's reply to the ambassador Surian, and their negotiations with Pace.

Ayes, 133. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 55 *lines*.]

Oct. 18. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 187, St. Mark's Library.

570. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The post from England and Flanders has arrived. Has received the Signory's missive of 2nd September, and from Surian an account of his negotiations down to the 22nd, first of all with Cardinal Wolsey alone, and subsequently in the presence of the Imperial ambassadors.

Had anticipated the result, having been repeatedly told by the Chancellor [Gattinara], that through Wolsey the State would accomplish nothing, as the Imperialists object to the Cardinal's mediation.

On being informed by the Chancellor that the Imperial ambassadors in England had no mandate, either from the Emperor or from the Archduke Ferdinand, replied that the Signory had employed the mediation of the King of England at the Chancellor's desire; that subsequently Wolsey made an offer of his services, and Pace had given the State to understand that the Cardinal would mediate.

Gattinara rejoined, "You know what I told you heretofore: and now our ambassadors write to us that Wolsey wished to constitute himself mediator, on two accounts—to find favour with the Emperor, by making it appear he had negotiated successfully; and, secondly, for the sake of obtaining a good sum of money from the State. But you procrastinate."

Explained the causes of the delay.

The Republic's apology in answer to the proposal that she should declare against France has been accepted by the ministers at the Emperor's court. Mentions this, as Cardinal Wolsey in his usual fashion took the matter up very warmly.

The Emperor's troops and those of Valencia are now besieging Xativa.

Valladolid, 18th October 1522.

[*Italian*, 2½ *pages*.]

Oct. 26. Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 188, St. Mark's Library.

571. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 21st was summoned to the house of the Chancellor. Found him with Mons. de Bresse, Mons. de Rœux, and the Comendador of Castile. The Chancellor made many complaints against the Signory, especially for not joining the league.

Has received letters from England. The commission to negotiate had been received by Surian, who, finding the Emperor's ambassadors were not empowered to treat, informed them instructions had been sent to Contarini in Spain, where the agreement would be concluded. The Emperor has therefore asked him (Contarini) whether he had a commission.

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Replied that he had no directions from Surian. Describes several long discussions with the Emperor's ministers, who insisted upon his commencing the negotiations without further delay.

At length with great difficulty obtained a promise from them that the Emperor would wait six days, in which he (Contarini) was to decide whether he would treat, as the Emperor would never after resume the subject.

Is thus placed in great perplexity, for want of knowledge of the Signory's intentions; and his refusal to treat may cause the Emperor to suppose the Republic is procrastinating until the return of the French into Italy. Should the Emperor attack Venice in anticipation of such a step, it is certain that all Venetian property in England will be confiscated, the Chancellor Gattinara having asserted several times—and experience demonstrates the fact—that Cardinal Wolsey is seeking an opportunity of seizing the Signory's galleys.

It is also possible there may be a plot between the Emperor and the King of France, or some project of peace between them. Hears that the French complain that the Venetian forces will not fight, and that the State refuses to receive the French troops. The Republic can derive no advantage from England, because the Imperialists, considering Cardinal Wolsey venal, do not choose him to negotiate this affair.*

For these reasons has determined to commence the negotiation.

Valladolid, 26th October, 1522.

[*Italian*, 8 *pages*.]

Oct. 28. **572.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 455.

The English troops, after embarking in France for England, encountered a violent storm, which drove them to the coast of Britanny, wheretwo of the larger ships foundered. The natives attacked the other five ships and cut the English to pieces. "A captain of York" (*sic*) and a secretary of Cardinal Wolsey's perished.†

The King of France said to him (Badoer) that as the elements had commenced to be propitious to him, the Signory must not fail to assist him in recovering his duchy of Milan, as the castles of Milan and Cremona yet hold out for France; that most of the Swiss cantons would be on his side, and that he meant to come into Italy in person.

Blois, 28th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th November.*

[*Italian*.]

Oct. 31. **573.** The PROPOSED PEACE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 442.

Motion in the Senate by the Sages for a letter to the Signory's ambassador in Rome, desiring him to thank the Pope for his briefs to Emperor, the King of England, and Cardinal Wolsey, concerning the peace. To justify the Signory's proceedings to the Pope.

[*Italian*.]

* "Perchè costoro havendo il Cardinal per homo corruptibile de denarj non vogliono che lui la tratj."

† "E le altre nave n° 5 capitate in Bretagna; da quelli popoli le zente Englese erano state taiate a pezi, et che uno Cap° di Jorch era perito, et uno Secretario di Cardinal Eboracense."

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Oct. 31. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 134.

574. The DOGE and SENATE to ALVISE GRADENIGO, Ambassador in Rome.

Informed by letters from their ambassador in England, that the Pope had sent briefs to the King and Cardinal, for the release of the Venetian galleys. Are grateful to the Pope.

Understand also how earnestly the Papal Nuncio [Ghinucci] had in the Pope's name besought the King and Cardinal to abstain from hostilities. Commend the Pope's good disposition, on account of the fierce projects of the Infidels.

Ayes, 154. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 49 *lines*.]

Nov. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 452.

575. ALVISE GRADENIGO to the SIGNORY.

The plague continues. The Pope has again written to England and the Emperor in excellent form concerning the agreement with the Signory.

Rome, 5th and 6th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th Nov.*

Note by Sanuto:—In the afternoon the Senate sat. The Sages proposed a letter to the Signory's ambassador in Rome, desiring him to thank the Pope for the briefs written to Spain and England. They also moved for a letter to the ambassador in England. Carried.

[*Italian*.]

Nov. 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 444.

576. EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages for the appointment of an ambassador to England.*

Scrutiny for an ambassador to England in the room of Lodovico Falier, who has refused. Elected, Zuan Antonio Venier, one of the Ten Sages.

Order of the Ballot :—

	Ayes.	Noes.
Marco Gradenigo, LL.D., late member of the Senate	69	129
Bertuccio Soranzo, late "*Auditor vecchio*"	58	141
Santo Moro, LL.D., late member of the Senate	66	131
Marco Contarini, late State Attorney (*Avogador*)	80	112
Hironimo Polani, LL.D., late member of the Senate	70	127
Silvestro Memo, "*Proveditor di comun*"	65	135
Carlo Capello, late "*Auditor novo*"	51	147
Gabriel Venier, late State Attorney	90	106
Agustin da Cà da Pesaro, late "*Auditor novo*"	78	117
Cristofal Capello, late member of the Senate	40	154
Troian Bollani	41	160

* I transcribe the list of names to show the class of persons who canvassed the appointment of ambassador of England. Of the persons mentioned in this list, Lorenzo Priuli died Doge of Venice in 1559, and Nicolò da Ponte was also Doge at the time of his death in 1585.

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	Ayes.	Noes.
Zuan Basadonna, LL.D., late member of the Senate	71	117
Francesco Morosini, LL.D.	58	130
Marco Contarini, late Treasurer (*Camerlengo di comun*)	95	103
Carlo Contarini	83	103
Zuan Antonio Venier, one of the Ten Sages	112	83
Marco Lando, late Captain in Candia	66	113
Lorenzo di Priuli	97	95
Andrea di Priuli, LL.D.	73	112
Giustinian Contarini, member of the Senate	73	114
Nicolò da Ponte, LL.D., late member of the Senate, Lecturer in philosophy	57	141

[*Italian.*]

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577. ELECTION of an AMBASSADOR to ENGLAND.

Senato Mar. v. xx. p. 48.

Motion made in the Senate. Whereas, owing to the refusal of Lodovico Falier to go ambassador to England, it was decreed by the Senate on the 16 September, to appoint an ambassador in his stead; and whereas it is fitting to take pity on Giovanni Badoer, ambassador in France. Put to the ballot, that after the election of an ambassador to England, a nobleman be elected to replace Badoer.

Ayes, 166. Noes, 20. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian,* 10 *lines.*]

Nov. 6.

578. EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.

Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 132, tergo.

Whereas, according to the Act passed in the Senate on 16th September, an ambassador is to be elected in the room of Lodovico Falier, who has refused; and whereas it is fit to show the customary courtesy towards Zuan Badoer, ambassador in France, whose plight is such as the Council has just heard:

Put to the ballot,—that after the election of an ambassador to England, a Venetian nobleman be elected in lieu of Zuan Badoer, on the same terms (120 ducats per month) as Lorenzo Bragadin, who went as captain to Brescia.

Ayes, 166. Noes, 20. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian,* 11 *lines.*]

Nov. 7.

579. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 189, St. Mark's Library.

Account of his negotiations with the Imperial ministers. Sketches the character of the Chancellor Gattinara. He is very affable and courteous, has great authority with the Emperor, and is a bitter enemy to the French, his politics being the reverse of those professed by Mons. de Chièvres. He is rather sophistical and confused in his doings,* but extremely fortunate in his designs.

On All Saints' Day the Emperor appeared on a stage erected in the market place of Valladolid, accompanied by all the Castilian grandees. He caused 300 persons, who had headed the revolutionary

* "E un pocho sophistico et sbaraglioso in le actione."

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commons of Castille, to be proclaimed rebels. Their estates, which have been confiscated, are expected to yield upwards of two millions of gold, as among these individuals were some whose incomes ranged from 10,000 to 12,000 ducats a year. The Emperor issued a second proclamation, pardoning all the other members of the Junta in Castille, much to the satisfaction of the commons.

Has visited the two ambassadors from England [Sir Thomas Boleyn and Dr. Sampson].* They received him graciously, but are altogether hot for the war. Sees no sign of peace in that quarter. The Comendador of Castile has a similar belief concerning the intention of the King of England.

Valladolid, 7th November 1522.

Memorandum:—Forwarded triplicates of the foregoing on the 11th, with a few additional lines, apologizing for the omission of two paragraphs in the original concerning the English ambassadors and the supplies destined for Fonterabia.

[*Italian*, 6 *pages*.]

Nov. 8. **580.** RICHARD PACE in VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 446.

This morning the ambassadors from the Emperor and the King of England went into the College together, to say that the report still circulated of the coming of the French into Italy, and that therefore the Signory was to beware of supplying them with provisions.

[*Italian*.]

Nov. 11. **581.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. pp. 453–454.

Scrutiny for an ambassador to England in the room of Zuan Antonio Venier, who has refused. Elected, Lorenzo di Priuli, a young man of letters (*homo studente et zovene*). He and Marco Contarini had the same number of ballots; but when reballoted, Priuli obtained a majority.

Order of the Ballot:—	Ayes.	Noes.
Marco Antonio Michiel	40	148
Silvestro Memo, "*Proveditor di comun*"	66	129
Nicolò da Ponte, LL.D., late of the Senate, Lecturer in philosophy	67	133
Giustinian Contarini, member of the Senate	65	122
Zuan Basadonna, LL.D., late one of the "X. Sages"	72	123
Lorenzo di Priuli	99	89
Marco Antonio Sanuto, late "*Auditor novo*"	81	103
Carlo Contarini	89	101
Francesco Morosini, LL.D.	56	137
Troian Bolani	51	142
Hironimo Polani, LL.D., late member of the Senate	78	121
Marco Antonio Contarini, late "*Avogador*"	89	98

* Boleyn and Sampson arrived at Laredo on the 11th October 1522. (See "State Papers," vol. VI., part V., p. 98.)

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	Ayes.	Noes.
Andrea de Priuli, LL.D.	82	106
Cristofal Capello, late member of the Senate	43	140
Marco Gradenigo, LL.D., late member of the Senate	68	127
Agustin da Cà da Pesaro, late "*Auditor novo*"	72	122
Marco Lando, late Captain in Candia	64	137
Alvise Morosini	23	165
Carlo Capello, late "*Auditor novo*"	53	135
Marco Contarini, late Treasurer, (*Camerlengo di comun*)	99	89
Reballoted—		
Lorenzo di Priuli	111	75
Marco Contarini, late Treasurer	98	90

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 11. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 136.

582. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Ambassador in England.

Have received his letters of 28th September and 5th October, respecting the Pope's briefs to the King and Cardinal for the release of the Signory's galleys. Have thanked the Pope, who ordered that the briefs should be repeated in the strongest and most ample form, for the purpose of effecting the release of all the three galleys. Write about this matter to the King and Cardinal. To do his best to effect the release.

Send the copy of a Papal brief to the Legate in Venice concerning the Christian expedition (*in materia rei Christianæ*), that he may read it to the King and Cardinal.

Ayes, 185. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 28 *lines.*]

Nov. 11. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 136, tergo.

583. DOGE ANTONIO GRIMANI to HENRY VIII.

Urging the King to grant the Venetian galleys detained in England free and full power to return home with all their gear, guns, and merchandise.

Ayes, 185. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin*, 37 *lines.*]

Nov. 11. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 136, tergo.

584. The SAME to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Wrote fully to the King and Cardinal on 30th July for the release of the Venetian galleys. Repeats the demand. Loss to the masters of the galleys, the merchants, and their crews. Hopes that permission for them to depart from England will be granted through the authority and favour enjoyed by the Cardinal with the King.

Ayes, 185. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin*, 14 *lines.*]

Nov. 13. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 457.

585. ALVISE GRADENIGO to the SIGNORY.

Encloses copies of the briefs written by the Pope to England for the release of the Signory's galleys.

Rome, 13th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th November.*

[*Italian.*]

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Nov. 12. **586.** HENRY VIII. to FREDERICK, MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

Mantuan Archives. The good will which subsisted between himself and the late Marquis causes him to entertain great affection for the reigning Marquis. Has received from Sir Gregory Casali an account of his virtues and desire to oblige him (King Henry). Sends him two hobbies and some hounds, which have been consigned to Casali for transmission. Wishes to know if there is anything in England he would like.

Greenwich, 12th November 1522.

(*Signed*) Vre cousin et amy, Henry Rex.
(*Countersigned*) Petrus Vannes.

[*Original. Latin.*]

Nov. 17. **587.** RICHARD PACE in VENICE.

Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 134, tergo. Put to the ballot that, by the authority of the Senate, the reverend ambassador of the King of England be allowed to bring into Venice four kilderkins of wine, duty free, according to the terms of the auction.

Ayes, 178. Noes, 14. Neutrals, 2.

Mem.—Permits were made out.

[*Italian, 3 lines.*]

Nov. 17. **588.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 455. Motion made in the Senate by the Councillors, that Lorenzo di Priuli, ambassador elect to England, who has accepted, be allowed to sit in the Senate until his departure, without giving a ballot.

Carried; and he took his seat.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18. **589.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter No. 190, St. Mark's Library. Eight delegates have come from Xativa, one of the cities of the Junta, to tender obedience to the Emperor, and to let him know that their insurrection was caused by the oppression of the Valencian aristocracy.

Archduke Ferdinand has asked the Emperor for the duchy of Milan. The request was refused. After concluding the alliance with the Signory, the Emperor intends to give to the Duke of Milan for wife the Lady Eleanor, widow of the late King of Portugal.

Told by the Chancellor that the Portuguese ambassador has offered his King's sister to the Emperor, with a dower of one million ducats, besides the dower of the Lady Eleanor, and 50,000 ducats due for moneys lent to the Emperor by the late King Emanuel. The Chancellor said the Emperor delayed giving a reply, as it is requisite first of all to get an answer from England.

The King of Portugal offers the Emperor an annual pension, provided he relinquish the spice trade. This the Emperor rejects, having destined five ships for that voyage, to put to sea in the spring.* On account of this spice trade, a rupture between these two crowns is anticipated.

* It is stated in Gasparo Contarini's printed report of his embassy to the Emperor, that the person appointed to command these five ships was Sebastian Cabot; but, according to a letter of Navagero's, he did not set sail from Seville until October 1525, when his squadron numbered 28 sail. Biddle shows that the voyage was deferred until April 1526.

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The Emperor has heard of the arrival at the Azores of a ship from Mexico (Tenustitan), and the other places discovered by Ernardo Cortes, governor of the island of Cuba. By this ship Cortes sends gold in bars to the amount of 30,000 ducats, and wrought gold to the value of 100,000 ducats, as presents to the Emperor from the kings of those parts.

Valladolid, 18th November 1522.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Nov. 20. **590.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 486.

Informed by Cardinal Wolsey that the Emperor is sending an ambassador to the Signory to negotiate the agreement.

Note by Sanuto.—According to [private?] letters from England, two [Venetian?] noblemen had visited Cardinal Wolsey, and were told by him there was good hope of the release of the Signory's galleys, because a person had come to Venice with commission to make an agreement, and if that were effected they would be released immediately.

London, 20th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 21. **591.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 136, tergo.

The Senate having elected as ambassador to the King of England Lorenzo de' Priuli, who has accepted willingly, it is fitting that he should go there well acquainted with passing events.

Put to the ballot,—that he may attend this Council until he goes to his said legation, not giving a ballot.

Ayes, 163. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 7 lines.*]

Nov. 21. **592.** The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Ambassador in France.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 138.

Perceive by his last letters that the King of France had expressed his suspicions respecting the recent negotiations between the State and the Imperial and English ambassadors. Give an account of those negotiations. Utterly refused to attack France, as it would be a violation of their alliance with King Francis. Owing to that refusal, are unable to obtain the release of their galleys detained in England. Endure this injury for the sake of keeping faith with his most Christian Majesty.

The Emperor is sending to them Signor Hieronymo Adorno, as they have informed the French ambassador in Venice.

Ayes, 142. Noes, 43. Neutrals, 26.

[*Italian, 4 pages.*]

Nov. 29. **593.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 502.

King Henry has allowed the merchants of Venice to export their merchandise. Hopes that affairs in England will proceed favorably. Dated 29th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st December.*

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 1. **594.** GIROLAMO ADORNO, Imperial Ambassador to Venice.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 472. The English ambassador, Dom. Richard Pace, came into the College. He stated that tomorrow Dom. Girolamo Adorno will arrive with an ample mandate from the Emperor and his resolve; and that it would be wise for the State to take heed to her interests, and take part with the Emperor and the King of England against France. The Doge said they would wait to hear what Adorno had to announce.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 2. **595.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 521. Hopes that the galleys will be released in two days.

London, 2nd Dec. 1522. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th Jan.* 1523.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4. **596.** ADORNO in VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. pp. 475–476. This morning there came into the College the Imperial ambassador, Dom. Hironimo Adorno, accompanied by the other ambassador from the Emperor, by the English and Mantuan ambassadors, and by many Venetian noblemen. He was dressed in black satin and sables, and a servant supported him, as he is lame from gout. He is 40 years of age, has a small face, and a red beard. He had a very handsome retinue of 40 persons. When he entered the College the Doge descended from the platform to meet him. On the ambassador's being seated, the letter of credence from the Emperor was read, dated Valladolid, 4th of October. Adorno then said a few words, and demanded a private audience tomorrow morning, when he will have it in the presence of the Chiefs of the Ten.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 6. **597.** ADORNO in VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 478. In the afternoon the Sages sat in committee to discuss the reply to be given to the Emperor's ambassador, Dom. Hironimo Adorno.

The statement made by him yesterday in the College was to this effect. The Emperor, after his election, was anxious for peace with the King of France and the Signory his ally, and endeavoured to make peace with France through the King of England, who, being unable to effect it, had together with the Emperor declared against France. For the welfare of Italy and Christendom, they wished for friendship with the Signory, and to effect it the Emperor sent his ambassador, Don Alfonso Sanchez, and the King of England accredited Dom. Richard Pace. Adorno exhorted the Signory to abandon France and join the Emperor, which would produce happy results, and all disputes would be adjusted; otherwise war would ensue between the Emperor and the Signory.

The Doge took time to reply.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 12. **598.** REPLY of the SENATE to HIERONIMO ADORNO.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 140. The articles of agreement were discussed at the conference between the Emperor and the King of England. Cardinal Wolsey said he would undertake their modification, and send Pace here as

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his ambassador, who, however, brought neither articles nor modification. Powers and instructions were sent to the Venetian ambassadors. In reply, the ambassador in England wrote that Cardinal Wolsey had changed his opinion, and that the matter was to be treated at the Imperial Court, but no news has been received from the ambassador with the Emperor. The coming of Adorno is most agreeable to the Signory.

[*Italian*, 76 *lines*.]

Dec. 13. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 141, tergo.

599. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Ambassador in England.

By their last, of the 14th ult., acquainted him with the expected arrival of Hieronymo Adorno to negotiate the peace between the Signory and the Emperor. Account of their negotiations with Adorno.

Not to use the power of attorney.

Ayes, 186. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian*, 21 *lines*.]

Dec. 13. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 142, tergo.

600. NEGOTIATIONS with ADORNO.

Modification by the College of a paragraph in the Senate's reply to Adorno, that it might be thus communicated to the French ambassador, and sent to the Venetian ambassador in France.

[*Italian*, 41 *lines*.]

Dec. 16. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. pp. 485, 486.

601. REPLY of the SENATE to ADORNO.

General account of the negotiations for peace between the Emperor and Venice. As Cardinal Wolsey was desirous of effecting it the Signory sent him an ample power for that purpose on the 1st of September last.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 23. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 144.

602. REPLY of the SENATE to ADORNO.

Have listened attentively to all he has caused to be read to them in reply to their proposals. If the Emperor and the King of England desire peace for the tranquillity of Italy, it is necessary the State should have time for consideration, in order that the peace may be effected consistently with the safety and stability of the Republic. The Signory's sole object is to establish a durable arrangement with the Emperor.

Ayes, 107.

[*Italian*, 58 *lines*.]

Dec. 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 494.

603. NEGOTIATIONS with ADORNO.

This morning the Imperial ambassador, Dom. Hieronimo Adorno, was unable to come into the College with the others [Sanchez and Pace?], having been seized with gout. Two members of the College were sent to his house to inquire whether he had any further commission from Don Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother, who is Duke of Austria, and whose territories join those of the Signory. Adorno said he had no further commission. He is loading his baggage in order to depart shortly.

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Today it is reported that 32 silver tankards (*taze d'arzento*) were stolen out of the house of the English ambassador, who is lodged in the Doge's house at Sta. Maria Formosa; so he did not, as invited, accompany the Signory to mass in St. Mark's Church. It is supposed he absented himself in order to avoid giving precedence to the French ambassador, on account of the enmity between them; yet does France precede the King of England everywhere (*ancorachè per tutto Franza precieda il Re d'Ingalterra*).

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 26. **604.** PACE in VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 496.

On Christmas Eve, after the office and mass at St. Mark's, the English ambassador, Richard Pace, sent his secretary to request the Sage of the Council Francesco Bragadin to go as far as his house to speak to him. Bragadin, having consulted with the Sages [his colleagues?], did not go in person, but sent Andrea di Franceschi, the secretary of the Council of Ten, to hear what he had to say. Pace, perceiving that the person he wanted declined to visit him, said he had no further statement to make. Moreover, on Christmas Day and this morning he did not accompany the Signory. Yesterday, after the sermon, the College having assembled and heard this account from Franceschi, sent Pace's great friend, Daniel di Renier, a member of the Junta of the Council of Ten, and late sage of the Council, to speak with Pace at his house, where Renier often visits him, to learn what he had to say, and something about these negotiations with Adorno.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 27. **605.** The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Ambassador in France.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 145, tergo.

In his last, of the 4th, he says nothing about preparations by the King of France for the Milanese expedition; on the contrary, it seems that the French forces will attack England. Wish the Milanese expedition to take place without delay. Desire information respecting any negotiations in France, either touching the affairs of England or those of Italy.

Adorno has been in Venice a month, and as he urges his despatch the Signory has appointed him auditors, in order to procrastinate. To announce this to King Francis.

Ayes, 65.

[*Italian*, 32 *lines.*]

Dec. 28. **606.** QUESTION of PRECEDENCE between ENGLAND and FRANCE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. pp. 498, 499.

On Sunday the 28th, the day appointed for the Doge's banquet, he went to mass clad in crimson velvet lined with lynx's fur, and a satin cap. He was accompanied by the Imperial ambassadors Hironimo Adorno and Don Alfonso Sanchez, by the French ambassador Dom. Angelo di Fiorenza, and by the ambassadors of Ferrara and Mantua. The English ambassador [Pace] would not come, to avoid being placed below the French ambassador. The King of England bears the title "*Rex Franciæ*," and the King of France is called "*Rex Francorum.*" Other patricians who had

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been invited were in attendance, including Vetor Morosini, of St. Paul's, the Doge's great friend, who goes into his chamber early every morning and remains in the College until they dismiss him, as he did with Doge Loredan. After mass they assembled in the palace to dine there, and subsequently a comedy was performed.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. **607.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Contarini's Original Letter Book, Letter no. 193, St. Mark's Library.

According to your letter, of 27th September, I ascertained that Sebastian Cabot was at the court, and where he dwelt. I sent to say that my secretary had a letter for him from a friend of his, and that if he chose he might come to my residence. He told my servant he would come. He made his appearance on Christmas eve. At dinner time I withdrew with him, and delivered the letter, which he read, his colour changing completely during its perusal. Having finished reading it, he remained a short while without saying anything, as if alarmed and doubtful. I told him that if he chose to answer the letter, or wished me to make any communication in the quarter from whence I had received it, I was ready to execute his commission safely. Upon this he took courage, and said to me, "Out of the love I bear my country, I spoke heretofore to the ambassadors of the most illustrious Signory in England,* concerning these newly discovered countries, through which I have the means of greatly benefiting Venice. The letter in question concerned this matter, as you likewise are aware; but I most earnestly beseech you to keep the thing secret, as it would cost me my life."

I then told him I was thoroughly acquainted with the whole affair, and mentioned how Hironimo the Ragusan had presented himself before the tribunal of their Excellencies the Chiefs, and that the most secret magistracy had acquainted me with everything and forwarded that letter to me. I added, that as some noblemen were dining with me, it would be inconvenient for us to talk together then, but that should he choose to return late in the evening we might more conveniently discuss the subject together at full length. So he then departed, and returned at about 5 p.m., when, being closeted alone in my chamber, he said to me,—

"My Lord Ambassador, to tell you the whole truth, I was born at Venice, but was brought up in England,† and then entered the service of their Catholic Majesties of Spain, and King Ferdinand made me captain, with a salary of 50,000 maravedis. Subsequently his present Majesty gave me the office of Pilot Major, with an additional salary of 50,000 maravedis, and 25,000 maravedis besides, as a gratuity, forming a total of 125,000 maravedis, equal to about 300 ducats.

"Now it so happened that when in England some three years ago, if I mistake not, Cardinal Wolsey offered me high terms if I would sail with an armada of his on a voyage of discovery. The

* I have been unable to discover any trace of conversations held with Sebastian Cabot, by Trevisan, Capello, Quirini, Badoer, Pasqualigo, Giustinian, or Surian, who were the Venetian ambassadors in England from 1497 to 1522.

† "Io naqui a Venetia, ma sum nutrito in Engelterra."

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vessels were almost ready, and they had got together 30,000 ducats for their outfit. I answered him that, being in the service of the King of Spain, I could not go without his leave, but if free permission were granted me from hence, I would serve him.

"At that period, in the course of conversation one day with a certain friar, a Venetian, named Sebastian Collona, with whom I was on a very friendly footing, he said to me, 'Master Sebastian, you take such great pains to benefit foreigners, and forget your native land, would it not be possible for Venice likewise to derive some advantage from you?' At this my heart smote me, and I told him I would think about it. So, on returning to him the next day, I said I had the means of rendering Venice a partner in this navigation, and of showing her a passage whereby she would obtain great profit; which is the truth, for I have discovered it.

"In consequence of this, as by serving the King of England I could no longer benefit our country, I wrote to the Emperor not to give me leave to serve the King of England, as he would injure himself extremely, and thus to recall me forthwith. Being recalled accordingly, and on my return residing at Seville, I contracted a close friendship with this Ragusan, who wrote the letter you delivered to me; and as he told me he was going to Venice, I unbosomed myself to him, charging him to mention this thing to none but the Chiefs of the Ten; and he swore to me a sacred oath to this effect."

I bestowed great praise on his patriotism, and informed him I was commissioned to confer with him and hear his project, which I was to notify to the Chiefs, to whom he might afterwards resort in person. He replied that he did not intend to manifest his plan to any but the Chiefs of the Ten, and that he would go to Venice after requesting the Emperor's permission, on the plea of recovering his mother's dowry, concerning which he said he would contrive that I should be spoken to by the Bishop of Burgos and the Grand Chancellor, who are to urge me to write in his favour to your Serenity.

I approved of this, but said I felt doubtful as to the possibility of his project, as I had applied myself a little to geography, and bearing in mind the position of Venice, I did not see any way of effecting this navigation, as the voyage must be performed either by ships built in Venice, or else by vessels which it would be requisite to construct elsewhere. Venetian-built craft must necessarily pass the gut of Gibraltar to get into the ocean; and as the King of Portugal and the King of Spain would oppose the project, it never could succeed. The construction of vessels out of Venice could only be effected on the southern shores of the ocean, or in the Red Sea, to which there were endless objections. First of all, it would be requisite to have a good understanding with the Great Turk. Secondly, the scarcity of timber rendered shipbuilding impossible there. Then again, even if vessels were built, the fortresses and fleets of Portugal would prevent the trade from being carried on. I also observed to him that I did not see how vessels could be built on the northern shores of the ocean, that is to say, from Spain to Denmark, or even beyond, especially as the whole

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of Germany depended on the Emperor; nor could I perceive any way at all for conveying merchandise from Venice to these ships, or for conveying spices and other produce from the ships to Venice. Nevertheless, as he was skilled in this matter, I said I deferred to him.

He answered me: "You have spoken ably, and in truth neither with ships built at Venice, nor yet by the way of the Red Sea, do I perceive any means soever. But there are other means, not merely possible but easy, both for building ships and conveying wares from Venice to the harbour, as also spices, gold, and other produce from the harbour to Venice, as I know; for I have sailed to all those countries, and am well acquainted with the whole. Indeed, I assure you that I refused to accept the offer of the King of England for the sake of benefiting my country, for had I listened to that proposal, there would no longer have been any course for Venice."

I shrugged my shoulders, and although the thing seems to me impossible, I nevertheless would not dissuade him from coming to the feet of your Highness (without, however, recommending him), because possibility is much more unlimited than man often imagines; added to which, this individual is in great repute here. He then left me.

Subsequently, on the evening of St. John's Day,* he came to me in order that I might modify certain expressions in the Ragusan's letter, which he was apprehensive would make the Spaniards suspicious. It was, therefore, remodelled, and written out again by a Veronese, an intimate of mine.

When discussing a variety of geographical topics with me, he mentioned, among other things, a very clever method observed by him, which had never been previously discovered by any one, for ascertaining by the needle the distance between two places from east to west, as your Serenity will hear from himself if he comes.†

After this, continuing my conversation with him concerning our chief matter, and recapitulating the difficulties, he said to me, "I assure you, the way and the means are easy. I will go to Venice at my own cost. They shall hear me; and if they disapprove of the project devised by me, I will return in like manner at my own cost."

He then urged me to keep the matter secret.

Valladolid, 31st December 1522.

[*Italian.*]

* Scil., 27th December, the Festival of St. John the Evangelist.

† Compare this with what is said about Sebastian Cabot's discovery concerning the variation of the needle, at pp. 29 and 30 of "The Memoir of Sebastian Cabot." I think it may be inferred that in December 1522 Cabot had only *recently* ascertained the fact here alluded to. Zurla says Tiraboschi is of opinion that Columbus, in his first voyage, performed A.D. 1492, was already aware of the variation of the needle, but in that case Sebastian Cabot would never have ventured to claim the discovery as his own in the year 1522, especially when conversing with so well informed a man as Gaspar Contarini, who, professing a certain knowledge of geography, would probably have been able to expose the imposture. The words in the original are, "Lui ragionando cum me di molte cosse di Geographia, fra le altre me disse uno modo che l'havea observato per la via del bossolo di cognoscer la distantia fra due lochi da Levante al Ponente, molto bello, ne mai piu observato da altri, come da lui, venendo, V. Sta portrà intender."

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of Germany depended on the Emperor; nor could I perceive any way at all for conveying horses-and-like from Venice to-there-ships, or for conveying spices and other produce from the ships to Venice. Nevertheless, as he was skilled in this matter, I said I deferred to him.

He answered me: "You have spoken ably, and in truth neither with ships built at Venice, nor yet by the way of the Red Sea, do I perceive any means save. But there are other means, not merely possible but easy, both for building ships and conveying wares from Venice to the Harbour, as also spices, gold, and other produce from the Harbour to Venice, as I know; for I have sailed to all those countries, and am well acquainted with the whole. Indeed, I assure you that I refused to accept the offer of the King of England for the sake of benefiting my country, for had I listened to that proposal, there would no longer have been any course for Venice."

I shrugged my shoulders, and although the thing seems to me impossible, I nevertheless would not dissuade him from coming to the feet of your Highness (without, however, recommending him), because possibility is much more multiplied than men often imagines; added to which, this individual is in great repute here. He then left me.

Subsequently, on the evening of St. John's Day,* he came to me in order that I might modify certain expressions in the Flagman's letter, which he was apprehensive would make the Spaniards suspicious. It was, therefore, remodelled, and written out again by a Veronese, an intimate of mine.

When discussing a variety of geographical topics with me, he mentioned, among other things, a very clever method observed by him, which had never been previously discovered by any one, for ascertaining by the needle the distance between two places from east to west, as your Serenity will hear from himself if he comes.†

After this, continuing my conversation with him concerning our chief matter, and recapitulating the difficulties, he said to me, "I assure you, the way and the means are easy. I will go to Venice at my own cost. They shall have me;" and if they disapprove of the project devised by me, I will return in like manner at my own cost."

He then urged me to keep the matter secret.

Valladolid, 31st December 1522.

[*Ital.*]

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* Sc., 27th December, the Festival of St. John the Evangelist.

† Compare this with what is said about Schöner's Celery discovery concerning the variation of the needle, at pp. 29 and 30 of "The Mirror of Solomon Cohen." I think it may be inferred that in December 1522 Cohen had only recently ascertained the fact here alluded to. Zorzi says Thevenot is of opinion that Columbus, in his first voyage, performed A.D. 1492, was already aware of the variation of the needle, but in that case Sebastian Cabot would never have ventured to claim the discovery as his own in the year 1522, especially when conversing with so well informed a man as Casper Contarini, who, possessing a certain knowledge of perspective, would probably have been able to expose the imposture. The words in the original are: "Lui ragionando con me di questa cosa di Geographia, fra le altre me disse una cosa che l'haveva osservato per lo via del bossolo di segnare la distantia fra due loghi da Levante al Ponente, molto facile, ma più che observato da altri, come da lui, vedendo, V. S^ria^ potrà intender."

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Jan. 1. **608.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 523. King Henry will release the Signory's galleys on the following four conditions:—

1st. The Signory to give security to the amount of 100,000 ducats, as a guarantee that they will not side with France.

2ndly. The customs duties which are now paid [by the merchants of Venice?] by instalments to be henceforth paid in ready money.

3rdly. The Signory to undertake to send a squadron (*una muda*) of galleys annually to England.

4thly. The King to retain for himself the guns of the galleys.

Dated 1st January. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 1. **609.** QUESTION of PRECEDENCE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 503. The Doge, apparelled in a mantle of crimson satin lined with ermine, with a cape, and robe of crimson satin beneath, entered St. Mark's Church with the French and Imperial ambassadors. The English ambassador did not come, in order not to take place below the French ambassador, who wanted to take precedence of Sanchez.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3. **610.** IMPORT PERMIT for RICHARD PACE.

Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 143. Put to the ballot, that a licence be given to the reverend ambassador from the most serene King of England to bring into Venice 3½ kilderkins (*amphore*) of wine, duty free, according to the auction contract [stipulated with the farmers of the wine duties?].

Ayes, 175. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian, 3 lines.*]

Jan. 3. **611.** PACE in VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 505. Motion made in the Senate to give the English ambassador 3½ kilderkins (*anfore*) from the office of the wine duties, and 12 kilderkins to the Imperial ambassador Hironimo Adorno.

Ayes, 175. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 2.

Jan. 5. **612.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 195. Understands on good authority that the King of France has fitted out four ships in Normandy to bring spices from the Moluccas, following the example of the Emperor, who, as already stated, is preparing five other vessels to repeat the voyage, which may possibly be thwarted by such rivalry, and the spice trade resume its track by way of Syria.

Valladolid, 5th January 1523.

[*Italian, 1 page.*]

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Jan. 5. **613.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 194.

The Emperor's sister, the Queen of Portugal, having become a widow, the Bishop of Cordova and the Count of Caura were sent to escort her hither. Her coming is postponed, she being apparently with child by the present King, her step-son.

Valladolid, 5th January 1523.

[*Italian*, ½ *page.*]

Jan. 7. **614.** LODOVICO SPINELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 533.

The ambassador Surian being indisposed, he, Spinelli, writes the gossip (*zanze*).

If the King of France enters Italy, the King of England will muster troops and cross over to France, and send lansquenets over the Alps for the defence of the Milanese.

With regard to the galleys, the "master," Sebastian Falier, is negotiating their release by means of a bribe through Wolsey's physician.*

Dated 7th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st January.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7. **615.** PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 506.

In the morning the French ambassador came into College. He is doing his utmost to thwart the agreement with the Emperor, and persuades the Signory to keep faith with King Francis and not to desert him.

This morning Hironimo Adorno went with his retinue to see the jewels of St. Mark; and in the afternoon he and his colleague Sanchez and the English ambassador went to the Legate [Tommaso Campeggio],† to speak to him about the matter now in course of negotiation.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. **616.** FRANCESCO CHIEREGATO, BISHOP of TERAMO,‡ to the MARQUIS of MANTUA.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 535.

We are occupied with the negotiations for the general war against the Turk, and for that particular war against that nefarious Martin Luther, who is a greater evil to Christendom than the Turk. It is not known what will be the result of these two most important matters. Prays God to bring them to the like good end as obtained by the first (*sic*). To this effect fails not to employ all possible diligence. Assures the Marquis that the affair of Luther is so rooted there, that a thousand men would not suffice to eradicate it;

* "Quanto alle galee, etc., trattava accordo per ser Sebastian Falier patron con il miedego dil Cardinal *con dar* fusseno licentiate perho chè questo è cosa particular, et non publicha, e altri avisi ut in literis." It will be seen hereafter, date 5th January 1531, that Wolsey's physician, Agostini, was a Venetian.

† See Andrea Morosini, Storia della Repubblica Veneziana, vol. 1, p. 75, ed. Venezia, 1782.

‡ The journal of Francesco Chieregato, Bishop of Teramo and Papal Nuncio at Nuremberg in the years 1522–1523, is quoted by Sarpi in his History of the Council of Trent.

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still less can he, being alone by himself, accomplish this result. Will do what he can. Is subjected to threats, outrages, defamatory libels, and all such insults as can possibly be borne. Believes that the affair has gone such lengths that it can proceed no further. They have now commenced preaching that the sacrament of the altar is not the real (*vero*) sacrament, and should not be adored, but merely celebrated * in memory of Christ. They have also alleged that the blessed Virgin was entitled to no merit for bearing Christ in the holy womb, and that she had several children by Joseph, and they daily go from bad to worse. Prays God to stretch forth his arm. Still hopes that with the divine assistance it may be possible to apply some good remedy before the close of this Diet.

The Diet of Prague has ended, and the Bohemians promised the King more than he asked. Has received a letter from his Majesty [Lewis, King of Bohemia and Hungary,] stating that he intends to remain in Bohemia until the Purification [2nd February], and in the meanwhile will prorogue the Diet of Buda in Hungary.

This Diet of ours will also last until the Purification, though circumstances may delay it a few days longer.

Nuremberg, 10th Jan. 1523. *Registered by Sanuto, 31st Jan.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10. **617.** Proposed League between Venice and Charles V.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 149.

Summary of the articles read by the Imperial ambassadors to the three auditors and [by these last] to the Senate.

II. The Signory to retain peaceable possession of all the places now held by them.

VIII. Power to be reserved for the Pope and the King of England to join the confederacy, they being the conservators of this agreement and arbitrators in such differences as may arise thence.

IX. Both parties to name their confederates. The Emperor will name Florence and Mantua.

[*Italian*, 31 *lines.*]

Jan. 13. **618.** Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 552.

He is almost well. The oarsmen of the Signory's galleys have all departed.

London, 13th January. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19. **619.** Decree of the Senate.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. xlix. p. 149, tergo.

The Senate being fully acquainted with the negotiations for peace and confederacy with the Emperor, and the Imperial ambassadors pressing for a reply,—Put to the ballot that they be answered thus :—

I. With regard to the preamble there is no occasion to say anything, as it will hereafter be drawn up in suitable form.

* "Et ch'el non si deve *adorare*, ma solo si deve *fare*, in memoria de Xto."

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VII. To the seventh article, respecting the comprehension of the Pope and the King of England, and their appointment as conservators of the league, the Signory reply that by reason of their respect for the Pope and his English Majesty, this is agreeable to them, but that the league cannot be concluded until the assent and ratification of the Archduke [Ferdinand] be obtained, and the mutual restitution of places taken during the war with the late Emperor Maximilian be negotiated.

IX. The last article is usual and very fair.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 37. Neutral, 6.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

Jan. 19. **620.** RICHARD PACE.

Misti Consiglio X., v. xlv. p. 125, tergo.

Motion made in the Council of Ten with the Junta. The noble Georgio Cornaro, knight and procurator, to hold a private conference alone with the Reverend Richard Pace, the English ambassador resident here, and assure him that the Signory relies on him for concluding this holy peace as advantageously for the State as if the interests of his own King were concerned.

On this account, should his Lordship contrive with his usual address, according to the offer made by him, that the reply given today in the Senate to the clauses proposed by the Imperial ambassadors, be accepted, the Signory, to mark the love she bears his Lordship, will make him a present of 4,000 ducats; viz., 2,000 forthwith, and 2,000 after the mutual restitution shall have been made by both parties; and the State will never be ungrateful for his good operations.

Ayes, 9. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 17 *lines*.]

Jan. 23. **621.** PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 523.

This morning the English ambassador came into the College, and the Signory complained bitterly to him of the proceedings of his King, who will not release the Flanders galleys. Much was said on this subject. Piero Capello, sage of the Council, grew angry with Pace, using certain expressions which made the latter very wroth; and whereas Pace has hitherto exerted himself to effect the agreement, he has now cooled greatly.

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 31. **622.** ENTERTAINMENT in honour of the IMPERIAL AMBASSADORS and RICHARD PACE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 535.

Today the ambassador of the Marquis of Mantua sent to inform the Signory that next week he intends to give an entertainment at his own house to the Imperial and English ambassadors, and to invite 25 Venetian gentlewomen. He therefore requested that on this occasion the ladies might have leave to come dressed in cloth of gold and ornaments (*foze*), as before the Act.* So the Signory sent for the proveditors for sumptuary laws (*pompe*), re-

* A sumptuary law recently enacted.

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questing them to grant the permission. They said that as the Act had been printed, they were bound to enforce it, and could not give leave. The Signory, however, might pass a motion to gratify the Mantuan ambassador; but the motion was not made.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 2. **623.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 561.

Had hoped to obtain the release of the Signory's galleys, but the King is fitting them out in order to send them against the French fleet.

London, the 27th January and 2nd of February. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th February.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. **624.** PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 543.

This morning the three Commissioners went to the house of Adorno, where the English ambassador was, for the reply, which they obtained.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4. **625.** PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 543.

Reading in the Senate of the reply made by the Imperial and English ambassadors to the six articles of agreement. With regard to the estates of the rebels, they are content with the 6,000 ducats per annum, which the Signory will give, in lieu of 5,000. Touching the investiture, they demand 250,000 ducats, of which 75,000 in ready money, and the rest in eight years. For the defence of the kingdom of Naples against France they are not satisfied with 10 galleys, but insist on having 15 light galleys armed. Also for the defence of the Milanese, they demand the same succour as the Signory gave the King of France when he held it. Concerning the other points there is no difficulty.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 9. **626.** IMPORT PERMIT for RICHARD PACE.

Senato Terra, v. xxii. p. 49, tergo.

Announcement made to the Signory by the reverend English ambassador, that during his seven months' residence at Venice he has had licence from the Senate to import 12 kilderkins (*amphore*) of wine, duty free, for his own use and that of his household. The supply not sufficing for his numerous retinue, he has obtained and consumed eight additional kilderkins, giving a bond for payment of the duties unless the Signory remit them. He therefore now requests that the bond may be cancelled, and permission given him to import seven more kilderkins.

As owing to the quality of the present times it is expedient to gratify his Lordship,—Put to the ballot, that our officials for the wine duty do cancel the securities given by the reverend ambassador for the aforesaid eight kilderkins, placing the amount to

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account of the Signory, and allow him to import seven other kilderkins, debiting the Signory for the duty.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 29. Neutrals, 0.

Mandate made out on the 10th in conformity with the above-written motion.

[*Italian*, 18 *lines.*]

Feb. 13. **627.** BULL-BAITING.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. p. 550. In the afternoon bulls were baited as usual on St. Mark's Square. The Doge was there to see the sight, dressed in gold brocade and a cap of the same material, for the marriage of his grandson. The Papal Legate, [Tommaso] Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre, Adorno, the Imperial ambassadors, and the ambassadors of France, Ferrara, and Mantua were present. The Imperial ambassador [Sanchez] did not come, because the French ambassador will not give way to him; and the English ambassador did not attend, because he does not choose to take place below France. Some Genoese and Bolognese and other foreigners were also present.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16. **628.** MARTIN LUTHER.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiii. pp. 570, 571. Letter from ——— to the Cardinal St. Praxed, called de Monte, dated Ingolstadt, 16th February 1523.

From his letters addressed to the Sacred College [of Cardinals], and from the copy of the letter enclosed, the Cardinal will comprehend the proceedings of the Lutherans (*quomodo cum Luterinis jam agatur*).

A book has been brought here today, sent from Nuremberg, edited by Luther, and printed at Wittemberg, about the abolition of private mass. He thereby declares the priesthood, the missal, the cardinals, and bishops to be mummeries (*larvie*). He says the monasteries are anti-scriptural, foes of God, and most mischievous. Every one wonders that Frederick Duke of Saxony suffers such things in his towns and in his university; and that the Apostolic See has not withdrawn the faculties (*privilegia*) from a university so infected with every disease.

Wishes the Pope to see to this. In Lent there is to be a meeting of the Princes at Nuremberg. Prays God that they may consult to some good purpose.

II. Letter from Folchinaria to ———, dated at the University of Ingolstadt, St. Blaise's Day [3rd February], and enclosed in the foregoing.

Repeats his request to be at length released from his Saxon captivity and exile. The riots at Ingolstadt are proceeding; the altars of the saints are being destroyed, and the images of Christ crucified are being removed from the parish [churches?] and both monasteries. Laymen give communion to one another under both species; all private masses are abolished; all confraternities destroyed; the bequests of the dead are infringed; no priest that dies is replaced, but they reserve the revenues for the use of the poor.

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Nobody dares celebrate more than one mass. Having done so in the language of the country, [the priest] then administers the communion to those who ask it, under both species, whether priests or laymen, placing the chalice on the corner of the altar, from which, having first delivered an exhortation, he then invites them to take the sacrament (*quod se comunicent*). Sometimes he communicates along with them; sometimes he gives communion to the others and abstains from it himself. They deny that it can be proved from scripture that the saints are already in heaven, but [admit] that they will go thither at the day of judgment (*in extremo die*); wherefore, as they do not pray for us, we worship them in vain. At Ingolstadt nobody fasts, nobody keeps any feast day except Sunday. The priests wed publicly. Nobody confesses, saying that confession is neither of divine ordinance nor necessary before communion, as the sacrament of the Eucharist suffices for the remission of sins; *ergo* previous confession is useless. Candles, holy water, and other ceremonies are quite abolished. They say that God himself has no need of light, but that he is himself the holy light of Christians (*sed ipse sit lux alma Cristianorum*); that it is not right to be burdened with laws, but to be free. Churchmen no longer shave the tonsure; they change their habit; professed monks abandon their monasteries. In short, all vows are dissolving. Therefore, as he (the writer) disapproves of all this, he is persecuted malignantly, and has determined to withdraw whithersoever the Lord may call him.

Signed: Folchinaria [Falckener ?].

Registered by Sanuto, 28th February.

[*Latin.*]

Feb. 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 24.

629. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

The Archbishop of . . . . . has died. He is said to have left 200,000 ducats, of which the King will avail himself.

Cardinal Wolsey has sent to tell him (Surian) to see him on Sunday, when he should hear good news.

Dated 20th February. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th March.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 20. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 199, St. Mark's Library.

630. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Has received the Signory's order to obtain a passport from the Emperor for Lorenzo de' Priuli, ambassador to England. The passport is already made out, and merely awaits the Emperor's signature.

Having obtained duplicates, will send one through the ambassador in England, the other by way of Rome.

Dined the day before yesterday with the Chancellor [Gattinara], who announced the receipt of a letter from Hieronimo Adorno, dated Venice, 17th December. Concerning the agreement, the Signory had made three demands of Adorno: (1.) They required him to be provided with a power from Archduke Ferdinand. (2.) That the Pope and the King of England should promise to be conservators of the peace, the State not placing entire reliance on the Emperor.

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(3.) That the places taken by both parties during the war should be mutually restored.

With regard to the Pope and the King of England, the Chancellor said that the Emperor consented to the Signory's demand. He added that the Emperor understood by way of France that the State was urging the French King to come into Italy, but such preparations were being made both in Spain and England that they should easily draw him back by the tail.

Said that the guarantee of the Pope and of the King of England for the peace was demanded by the State, not from any distrust of the Emperor, but merely to gratify the Pope and the King, who had perhaps volunteered their good offices for this adjustment between the Emperor and the Republic.

Concerning the war with France, the Chancellor said that the King of England would make a vigorous attack on Picardy and Normandy, having already mustered 100,000 combatants; that he would leave 30,000 to act against Scotland; 20,000 for the defence of the island; embark 10,000 on board the fleet, and cross over in person to Calais with the remaining 40,000.

Has been told that the Captain Gabiniglio was sent to Rome for a dispensation for the marriage of the widow of the late King of Portugal to his son, the reigning King, her step-son.

Valladolid, 20th February 1523.

[*Italian*, $3\frac{3}{4}$ *pages.*]

Feb. **631.** ZUAN BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 17.

King Francis is going into Picardy, and has just spoken angrily against the Signory. Zuan Clemente Stanga, who (lately) resided in Venice (*stava in questa terra*), went post to the King to tell him that the agreement with the Emperor was proceeding, and it merely remained to sign the articles. The King is therefore writing a letter to the Signory. He is sending troops to Scotland to favour the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Suffolk [Richard de la Pole, White Rose] and act against England. He has sent 30,000 (*sic*) Switzers; he will have 12,000 (*sic*). Concerning the affairs of Provence, as Prospero Colonna threatened to march thither, the King is sending troops in that direction, and will send for the Switzers.

Poissy, — February. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th March.*

[*Italian.*]

[March.] **632.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 20.

Fonterabia has apparently been succoured by the King of France. The Spaniards have retreated.

An English ship has been captured by the French. On board of it was much merchandise belonging to Venetian merchants in England.

Sent therefore to the King of France, requesting him to give orders for the safe custody of the effects of the Signory's merchants. The King did as requested, and also wrote letters directing that

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should other vessels be captured containing Venetian property, it was to be preserved.

*Undated.** *Registered by Sanuto, 18th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 7. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 200, St. Mark's Library.

633. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

By the post from Flanders the Emperor has received news of a monster born in Saxony. A cow calved a calf with a man's head and broad shoulders, over which was a friar's hood. This is compared by the people here to Luther. Supposes the State will have received intelligence of this through another channel.

Valladolid, 7th March 1523.

[*Italian, 1¼ page.*]

March 7. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 201, St. Mark's Library.

634. The SAME to the CHIEFS OF THE TEN.

Sebastian Cabot, with whom you desired me to speak on matters connected with the spice trade, has subsequently been to see me several times, always telling me how much disposed he is to come to Venice for the purpose of carrying into effect his schemes for the Signory's benefit.

This day he informed me that he could not ask leave at present, lest they suspect him of intending to go to England, and that he must, therefore, serve for three months longer, on the expiration of which he would place himself at the feet of the Signory. Prays you to write him a second letter, urging him to come to Venice for the despatch of his affairs.

I write all that Sebastian has stated to me, and what he requires; your Highness will act as you may please.

Valladolid, 7th March 1523.

[*Italian, ½ page.*]

March 10. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 202, St. Mark's Library.

635. The SAME to the SIGNORY.

The ambassador from Portugal departed on Monday. Has been told by the Chancellor that he went away dissatisfied. He had requested the Emperor to make a compromise with his King about the spice trade, or at least that they should mutually relinquish these voyages until it was ascertained to which of them the Moluccas appertained. The Emperor rejected both demands, not choosing to resign the possession of these places, which belong to him.

Valladolid, 10th March 1523.

[*Italian, 1 page.*]

March 10. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 27.

636. ZUAN BADOER to the SIGNORY.

King Francis has embarked 500 spears and 10,000 Switzers for England in aid of Scotland. He says the Signory ought not to ratify the agreement now negotiating with the Emperor, as the latter would not abide by it, and immediately on its formation would league with France against Venice. He promised that he

* No date, but written probably at the beginning of March. The paragraph commences thus, "Fo continuato a lezer le lettere. In quelle di Franza par Fonterabia," etc.

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would never desert the Signory, and that he would make war in Italy. The King knows the agreement is not yet concluded, but he considers it settled.

Poissy, 10th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 11. **637.** Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 39.

The King has released the galleys, but retains six pieces of artillery. The galleys are being repaired; the mischief is less than was supposed, but there will be no crews, many having departed. The galleys are forbidden to load merchandise belonging either to the Florentines or the Genoese. This last intelligence was contained in letters from the masters of the galleys.

Went to see 20 ships which the King means to fit out against Scotland, whither he has already sent commanders and troops.

Some Frenchmen went disguised to Calais, bearing the red cross, and attacked the English, carrying off six gunners into France.

The King of England sends Richard Pace, the ambassador at Venice, to Milan, and then to the Switzers, to persuade them not to join France against England and the Emperor.

Dated, 22nd of February and 6th and 11th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 12. **638.** Richard Pace.

Commemoriale, v. xx. p. 177.

Letters patent from Henry VIII., authorizing him to settle all disputes between the Emperor and the Signory of Venice.

London, 12th March, 14 Hen. VIII.

Signed: Henry. *Countersigned:* Clerke.

[*Contemporary transcript. Latin, 39 lines.*]

March 12. **639.** Giovanni Badoer to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 74.

The King of France is making great preparations against the King of England by sea and land. He is expecting the Great Bastard [and means] to send him with "White Rose," [Richard de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk,] against the King of England.

Fonterabia has been succoured, and the ambassadors from the Grisons are expected, so that the King of France will have all the Switzers, except Zurich, but for this he cares not. He intends to undertake the Italian expedition and recover the Milanese.

Poissy, 12th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th April.*

[*Italian.*]

March 14. **640.** News from England and France.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 17.

Report heard through the German Factory in Venice, that the King of France had been very ill, and, although young, had fallen apoplectic; but it was not true. He is preparing a large army against England, meaning to place White Rose [Richard de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk] on the throne, saying that the kingdom belongs to him.

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Note by Sanuto.—Several Venetian noblemen who went to England on board the Flanders galleys have arrived in Venice by land, being unable to come by the galleys, as the King chose to keep them for himself. These noblemen say that the Scots were raising a great army against England, and the King of England was preparing a fleet and army against France; so that the war over there was proceeding more briskly than ever.

[*Italian.*]

March 15. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlvi. p. 7.

641. STATEMENT made by the AMBASSADORS of the ARCHDUKE [FERDINAND] of AUSTRIA.

As the Signory refuses to surrender the places demanded at first, the Archduke now requires the restitution of Pordenone, Piamonte (*sic*), Castel Novo, and Belgrado, together with the other places taken in the late war.

The dispute with regard to Treviso and other places demanded, which are now in possession of the Signory, and which were held by them before the war, to be referred to the Pope alone, or in conjunction with the ambassadors from England, Hungary, Poland, and Portugal resident at Rome, for his or their decision.

In the meanwhile, until the case be decided, the Signory to pay the Archduke annually 60,000 ducats, after which peace and confederacy to be negotiated.

[*Italian*, 13 *lines.*]

March 16. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlvi. p. 7.

642. REPLY to the AUSTRIAN AMBASSADORS.

* * * In accordance with the promise given by the Pope and the reverend English ambassador, the Signory will be content to surrender the places now held by them, although of greater profit to their subjects than those to be given in exchange.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin*, 29 *lines.*]

March 17. Mantuan Archives.

643. ANGELO and GIOVANNI BATTISTA, Falconers, to FEDERIGO GONZAGA, MARQUIS of MANTUA.

Arrived safe in England with nine falcons. On the 12th of March presented them to the King, who was beyond measure pleased with them, and received the bearers most graciously. The falcons are still in their hands, because they could not be tried on account of the bad weather. The King is most impatient to see them fly. Have no doubt but that they will do their duty, as they are in excellent condition. Do not know when they shall depart, as they depend on the King, who is going tomorrow to Portsmouth to inspect his fleet, and chooses them to accompany him to fly the falcons.

Richmond, 17th March 1523.

Signed: Angelo et Zambaptista.

[*Original. Italian.*]

March 18. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 3.

644. The DOGE and SENATE to FRANCIS I.

Believe that he is thoroughly acquainted with the causes of the many and heavy losses incurred by the noblemen, citizens, and

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merchants of Venice owing to the prolonged detention in England of the Signory's galleys and ships.

For this reason the merchants, unable to obtain their property by other means, adopted the following expedient.

They sought and are still seeking to ship what they could save in English or other vessels under the names of Ragusans, Florentines, Genoese, &c.

In this manner they loaded six vessels, of which two foundered at sea, two ran aground and were wrecked, the fifth put back into Hampton from stress of weather, and the other, on arriving in Britanny, was detained, apparently by Captain Antonio [Anthoine de la Fayette ?] and other captains in the King's service.

Thank him very affectionately, because, immediately on hearing this, he wrote to his Governor General in Britanny, desiring him to take good care of all the property, so that nothing should be damaged, for the purpose (as the State is very certain) of restoring to their subjects all their goods thus embarked,—a truly beneficent proceeding on the part of his Majesty.

[*Italian*, 43 *lines.*]

March 18. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 3.

645. The DOGE and SENATE to GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France.

Enclose copy of the Signory's letter to the King concerning the effects of the Venetian noblemen and merchants detained in Britanny by Captain Antonio and others, together with the English ship.

Ayes, 191. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 20 *lines.*]

March 18. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 203, St. Mark's Library.

646. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Through Hieronimo Adorno the Emperor has heard of the capture of Rhodes by Sultan Solyman,* Adorno having received the news from the Viceroy of Naples, who sent him a letter dated Gallipoli in Puglia, 14th January, from Gabriel di Martinengo, giving an account of the surrender.

Valladolid, 18th March 1523.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

March 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 23.

647. The FLANDERS GALLEYS.

The secretary of the English ambassador came and told the Doge that he, Pace, had received letters from England to the effect that the King has given leave to the Signory's Flanders galleys to depart at their pleasure.

[*Italian.*]

March 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. pp. 23-24.

648. Last ILLNESS of ADORNO.

Hironimo Adorno is very ill. He confessed and communicated, and settled his affairs during the past night. He is expected to die.

[*Italian.*]

* On the 22nd of December 1522.

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March 20. **649.** Death of Adorno.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 24.

It was heard in the morning that the Imperial ambassador, Hironimo Adorno, died at the seventeenth hour. In the afternoon the bell of Sto. Mark's tolled double peals six times, and stately obsequies will be performed in his honour at St. Stefano, where he resided. He was 33 years of age. He seemed well inclined towards the Signory.*

[*Italian.*]

March 28. **650.** Antonio Surian to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 88.

The galleys have been repaired and will set sail after Easter, but the crews are wanting. When asked for their guns, Cardinal Wolsey said, "Go and take them, they are distant three miles from the galleys."† The captain and masters are unable to obtain from him the grant of any of their demands, however small.

London, 28th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 24th April.*

[*Italian.*]

[March.] **651.** The Same to the Same.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 90.

A Bishop [Bernard de Mesa, Bishop of Badajoz], whose see was saddled with a pension of 2,000 ducats for Cardinal Wolsey, has been resident in England as ambassador from the Emperor. When the Emperor went to England, he requested the King to remit (*levare*) the pension, and the King promised to pay it himself. The ambassador being now about to return to Spain, Wolsey demanded the pension, saying he chose to receive it from the Bishop, who has been compelled to give security, &c. There is, therefore, no longer the same good understanding as at first between the Emperor and England; and it seems that Madame Margaret, the governess of Flanders, allows Frenchmen passage on their way to Scotland.

The King is sending an ambassador to Rome, called the Elect . . . . . [Dr. John Clerk, Bishop elect of Bath], who is entirely the creature of Wolsey, both that he may aid him to obtain the popedom should Adrian VI. die, and also for the transaction of other necessary business. The King wanted to recall Pace from Venice [to England], but the Cardinal did not choose it; so the King is sending him to the Switzers, and he is to confer with this envoy on his way to Rome at Milan.

Undated. Registered by Sanuto, 27th April.

[*Italian.*]

March 30. **652.** Illness of Pace.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 39.

The English ambassador, Richard Pace, has been ill of late; he therefore was not present at the obsequies of Adorno. This day he came to the College, and communicated the advices received by him from England concerning the release of the galleys.

[*Italian.*]

* Pace's negotiations were affected by this catastrophe.
† Qu. at Calshot Castle?

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March 31. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlvi. p. 13.

653. The FLANDERS GALLEYS.

Motion made in the Senate for letters of thanks to be written to Henry VIII. and Cardinal Wolsey.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 7.

654. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to KING HENRY VIII.

Letter of thanks for the release of the Flanders galleys, announced by Richard Pace, the English ambassador in Venice, and by the Venetian ambassador in England.

[*Latin.*]

March 31. Ib.

655. The SAME to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

Of the same tenor.

[*Latin.*]

March 31. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlvi. p. 13.

656. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to ANTONIO SURIAN, Ambassador in England.

The Reverend Richard Pace having suddenly informed them that a courier is to leave Venice for England this evening, will not allow him to depart without letters from them. Commend the ambassador for his zealous and indefatigable exertions, whereby he has at length effected the release of the Signory's galleys, and of the goods belonging to her merchants. To thank the King and Cardinal.

Enclose letters for the King and Cardinal.

Approve of the ambassador's gentle hint to the King that he should grant reparation to the poor masters and mariners for all they have suffered, without any fault of theirs.

As the ambassador writes of his Majesty's great wish to have six of the Signory's bronze guns—two from each galley—the like demand having been made by the Reverend Richard Pace, desire him, although it subjects the galleys to great peril, by reason of the corsairs in the German Ocean, and of the pirate vessels of the Turks and other rovers in the Mediterranean, to announce the State's willingness to comply with his Majesty's desire, as by so doing they think to gratify themselves. Is therefore to consign the cannon at the King's pleasure; but in order that the return voyage may be made in safety, is to request the Cardinal to accommodate them with other guns, promising to return them by the next fleet destined for the Flanders voyage, which will set sail immediately on the arrival at Venice of the galleys now in England.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlvi. p. 13.

657. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to ANTONIO SURIAN.

By the accompanying letter desire him to satisfy the King with regard to the six bronze guns belonging to the Signory, and to request that the galleys may be accommodated with other cannon for their safe return.

By this separate letter inform him that if unable to obtain cannon for the galleys from the King, he is to arrange with the

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captain and masters, and procure other guns in the best manner possible, so that the galleys may make their voyage in safety.

[*Italian.*]

March 31. Misti Consiglio X., v. xlvi. p. 13.

658. The Council of Ten and Junta to Antonio Surian.

A few days ago the Reverend Richard Pace gave them to understand that amongst his other friends with whom he corresponds in England are the Bishop of London [Cuthbert Tunstall] and Sir Henry Marney, who (he says) have great authority and credit with the King; and he assured the Council that they will use their good offices with his Majesty in favour of the Signory on every occasion. Think fit therefore to give the ambassador notice of this, so that should he deem it advisable he may visit these personages apart one from the other, and request their favour. Should they have rendered any already, he is to express the Signory's thankfulness.

Of the receipt of this letter he is to give notice to the Chiefs of the Ten.

Ayes, 20. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

April 4. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 204, St. Mark's Library.

659. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Arrival this day of a Papal messenger, who quitted the French court on the 14th ult. He confirms the surrender of Rhodes, and is also the bearer of very urgent, nay, threatening briefs from the Pope insisting on peace or truce being made with France, in order to resist the Turkish power, which now menaces the destruction of Christendom, especially of Italy.

An ambassador from the Prince of Muscovy has also arrived here.

Valladolid, 4th April 1523.

[*Italian*, 1¾ *page.*]

April 10. Mantuan Archives.

660. Henry VIII. to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.

Will not omit any opportunity for testifying his affection and goodwill towards the Marquis. Is now sending his well-beloved counsellor the Rev. John Clerk as ambassador to the Pope on most important business. Addresses these credentials to the Marquis in case Clerk go out of his way to visit him.

Richmond, 10th April 1523.

Signed: Henry R.

Countersigned: Petrus Vannes.

[*Original. Latin.*]

April 13. Mantuan Archives.

661. Gregorio Casal to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.

Received the letter delivered to him from the Marquis by the falconers, and did his best to comply with its contents. The King was very well satisfied with the falcons, and much pleased with the loving letter, and with the present which he had been so anxious

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to receive. The Marquis will hear from the falconers themselves how well the falcons flew. The Marquis can dispose of the King as much as any Prince. The King pledges himself to demonstrate this by experience, and requests the Marquis in case of need to make the trial. Refers him for further intelligence to the falconers.

London, 13th April 1523.

Signed: Gregorio Casale.

[*Original. Italian.*]

April 13. **662.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 205, St. Mark's Library.

Dined with the Chancellor today. In the middle of dinner the English ambassador* made his appearance, and seating himself at table, said he had just then been sent for by the Emperor, who, in the course of conversation, referred him to the Chancellor, with whom after dinner he drew aside. I passed with certain Sicilian barons into another chamber, and conversed with them until the conference ended.

When the ambassador came forth he accompanied me homewards. We are neighbours, and frequently converse together. I said I had waited for him, especially because my servants were much behind time in returning to fetch me. Commenced discussing the truce. The ambassador said with much warmth, "Know this for truth, that the Turks are not greater enemies of Christendom than the French; nor do they ever negotiate save with fraud and deceit.† They want a truce, but they want Milan; then they want the truce to continue four months, so that in the meanwhile the Turk in one direction and they themselves in the other may invade Christendom. I tell you that there will be a greater war than ever."

Inquired whether he should soon be despatching a courier to England. The ambassador replied, "The Emperor would fain have me send one tomorrow, the 14th instant, but it is not possible."

Valladolid, 13th April 1523.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

April 16. **663.** ANTONIO SURIAN to ———.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 103.

Today the mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated for the inauguration of the High Court of Parliament. I went to accompany the King, and in truth it was a very handsome ceremony. First of all, I went to the King in his chamber, and presented my masters of the Flanders galleys to him. He wore a long gown of plain crimson (*de pian cremesino*),‡ lined with ermine, with rather narrow sleeves well nigh in our fashion, and also a lined crimson cape precisely like an abbot's, save that the pendant over-hood behind was rather long. Over this he put a crimson mantle lined with ermine, open in front, precisely such as our Doge wears, with a long train borne by the Lord Chamberlain and by Lord Marney,

* Contarini does not give the name either of Boleyn or Sampson.

† "In verità sapiate questo, che li Turchi non sono maior inimici della Christianità di quello sono Franzesi; ne tratano cosa si non cum fraude et cum ingano."

‡ Qu. with an unraised pile?

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lately created a baron. The order of procession was as follows:—First went the lawyers, who are here called "men of the coif;" they wore gowns, with scarlet hoods and single mantles,* and a white linen coif on their heads, fastened under the chin, well nigh in the fashion of the sisters of humility (*al modo quasi humel donna*). Next walked the abbots of the kingdom, all dressed in their black cardinal's cape, with the hood (*capuzo*) as worn by the Patriarch of Venice; this hood being open, spread to the breast from the shoulders, and displaying a lining of black satin.

The bishops followed, arrayed also in their cardinals' capes, lined with ermine, and the hood, which in like manner when their heads were uncovered spread itself out, and displayed the ermine lining.

The barons, earls, and dukes came next, clad in scarlet gowns and mantles lined in the same fashion as the King's, save that their mantles are divided and open above the right shoulder, they have no trains, and on the breast and shoulders they bear three bands of ermine.

After them came Cardinal Wolsey, and last of all the King, looking very handsome and grand with his fine presence (*il tutto bello e grando con la sua bellezza*).

He was preceded by the sceptre, carried by the old Duke of Norfolk, the royal lieutenant. The Earl of Exeter bore the sword, and the Earl of Devonshire carried a gold baton, with a hat at its extremity, said to be the one with which the Kings of England are crowned. It is of crimson velvet, surrounded by an ermine border (*balzo*), the crown being covered with certain long gold bands tied together at the summit, forming in the centre as it were well nigh a straight horn.

The ambassadors present were those of the Archduchess Margaret, myself, and the one from the Duke of Milan. On the way to the church we were placed between the abbots and the bishops, and on the return took our usual places. The mass was sung in the church of St. Dominick, the site of this new palace of the King's [Bridewell]. The Bishop of Lincoln [John Longland], the King's confessor, said the mass, on the conclusion of which the procession returned to a hall prepared for the occasion, with three rows of benches; and for a fourth, in the centre, were placed four long wool sacks covered with red cloth, as were all the other benches likewise.

At one extremity of the hall a platform was raised with a royal throne covered with cloth of gold. This the King ascended by four steps, and seated himself; Cardinal Wolsey being at his right hand, but on a lower level. The ambassadors were placed to the left, not seated, but standing against the wall. The dukes and barons sat according to their grade on the King's right hand, and on the benches to his left were the prelates, and last of all the lawyers on the wool sacks. Including barons and prelates, we numbered 80 persons.

On the right hand, near Cardinal Wolsey, and from the same

* "Et mantelli di scarlato ugnoli."—Qu. unlined.

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bench, Dr. Tunstall, the Bishop of London, rose, and made a fine speech, in English, but so embellished and abounding with Latin quotations, that they enabled me thoroughly to comprehend the discourse; and we ambassadors had persons with us who interpreted the whole, which contains two principal parts. In the first, commencing with the words of the Psalmist, "*Deus judicium tuum Regi da et justitiam tuam filio Regis,*" he dilated scientifically on the requisites needed for lawgivers, and subsequently he also discussed the spirit of the laws to be enacted by them.

The second part contained a definition of justice and its ends, "*unicuique reddere quod suum est;*" and he thence proceeded appositely to explain in a few words the cause of the present war in which the King of England is engaged against France. He commenced with the League of London, remarking that the King of France had violated it in several particulars, and was the first to attack the Emperor. He narrated in detail all the charges usually made by England against France, adding that, nevertheless, the King had not chosen peremptorily to proceed to war, but endeavoured in the first place by all means to bring the King of France to peace with the Emperor, even by sending the Cardinal last year to the Diet at Calais, and also as far as Bruges, where Wolsey underwent endless fatigue, and at length sacrificed his health to the peril of his life. Being unable to obtain any good result in this matter, the King was compelled to observe his oath, and for the maintenance of his rights most justly to embark in the present war.

In conclusion, Tunstall said, the King had therefore convoked the present Parliament, in order that after hearing the just causes which had made him undertake the present war, they, the Lords, and finally the whole kingdom, might be united and unanimous with his Majesty, who intended to prosecute this war with all his might, to the glory of the realm of England, most especially because good war at length produces good peace. Having spoken thus very learnedly for a full hour, the Bishop of London ended his speech. The King descended the throne, and came and spoke with us ambassadors, praising the speech made by Tunstall, who is in truth a very learned person. His Majesty apologised for the Cardinal (whose duty it was to perform this office) on the score of ill health, but said he would make a good speech in Parliament (*in conclave*) on the subject, and not fail in his duty.

We then accompanied the King to his chamber, it being nearly 2 p.m. when this ceremony terminated.

London, 16th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th May.*

[*Italian.*]

April 16. **664.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 105. The galleys are being repaired. The French fleet has effected no landing in England.

Dated 16th April. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th May.*

[*Italian.*]

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Original Letter Book, Letter no. 206, St. Mark's Library.

665. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

When conversing yesterday with Monsieur de Roeulx concerning the truce proposed by the Pope, was told by him that the King of England had expressly charged his ambassador at Rome not to assent to it unless the King of Scotland was excluded.

For the last few days it is reported that the Emperor's sister, the Queen of Portugal, is coming to the court.

Valladolid, 19th April 1523.

[*Italian*, 1 *page*.]

April 20.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 10, tergo.

666. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Ambassador in England.

Send a duplicate of their former letter, containing instructions to be followed by him touching the guns of the Signory's galleys demanded by the King.

Note the words uttered by the King and Cardinal concerning the disputes between the Signory and the Imperial agents at Venice, and the wish of the King and Cardinal for an amicable adjustment. Were also informed of this through the copy of the King's letter to his ambassador [Pace].

The present state of the negotiation is as follows:—

After many conferences with the Imperial agents, the Signory gave an ultimatum, replete with equity and fairness, respecting such concessions as could be made to the Emperor, one of whose agents, Hieronymo Adorno, fell grievously sick and subsequently died.

The negotiations were then thwarted by the arrival at Venice of two ambassadors from the Archduke [Ferdinand]. It was supposed that they came merely to ratify in his Majesty's name what had been arranged with the Imperial agents; but the Archduke's ambassadors made demands so much at variance with the [previous] negotiations as not only to surprise and disturb the Signory, but also the Imperial agents themselves.

Do not doubt but that the King will have been fully assured of this by his ambassador [Pace].

The adjustment was thus impeded, the Signory's firm intention being that the treaty with the Emperor should include the Archduke (as they had been assured in his name), for the universal quiet of their mutual territories, which object alone induced them to take these steps, and not make other separate treaties with him, as now desired by his ambassadors.

The Pope, having been acquainted with these demands, has written an autograph letter to the Archduke, dissuading him from them, and exhorts the Signory to await the reply. Should it be such as hoped for by the Pope, and as always promised to the Signory, they will proceed to the completion of what has been commenced, in conformity with their wish for universal quiet, and to gratify the King of England, to whom and to the Cardinal he is to announce this good intention of the Signory's.

Enclose Turkish newsletters received yesterday from the Vene-

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tian ambassador in Hungary, for inspection by the King and Cardinal as usual.

Ayes, 184. Noes, 4. Neutral, 1.

[*Italian*, 48 *lines*.]

April 20. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 82.

667. Pace's Negotiations.

The English ambassador came into the College today, still urging the Signory to make the agreement with the Emperor, and not to attend to the words of Signor Renzo, now come from France.

[*Italian*.]

April 24. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 207, St. Mark's Library.

668. Gasparo Contarini to the Council of Ten.

Receipt of news on the morning of the 23rd, that the Bishop of Badajoz,* late Spanish ambassador in England, has arrived in Spain by sea, and is coming to the court; whereupon Sir Thomas Boleyn will go back.

Valladolid, 24th April 1523.

[*Italian*, 1 *page*.]

April 28. Lettere Sottoscritte, Capi Consiglio X.

669. Council of Ten to Gasparo Contarini.

We received your letter of 31st December, touching your conference with Sebastian Cabotto; also your letter of the 7th March, acquainting us with his determination not to come hither until the expiration of three months. According to his desire, we enclose a letter drawn up in the name of Hieronimo de Marino, the Ragusan, touching his private affairs, in order that it may appear necessary for him to quit Spain. This you are to deliver to Cabotto, *remotis arbitris*, urging him to come hither. Marino is not in Venice now, nor do we know where he is, although the letter is dated here.

Andreas Fuscarenus, C.C.X.
Jacobus Michael, C.C.X.
Andreas Fosculus, C.C.X.

[*Italian*.]

April 28. Lettere Sottoscritte, Capi Consiglio X.

670. Hieronimo de Marino to Sebastian Cabot, residing in Spain.

Some months ago, on arriving here in Venice, I wrote to you what I had done to discover where your property was. I received fair promises from all quarters, and was given good hope of recovering the dower of your mother and aunt, so that I have no doubt, had you come hither, you would already have attained your object. I therefore exhort you not to sacrifice your interests, but betake yourself here to Venice. Do not delay coming, for your aunt is very old.

Venice, 28th April 1523.

[*Italian*.]

May 4. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 182.

671. Antonio Surian to the Signory.

A week ago the galleys commenced lading. Details his conversations about them with the Cardinal and the King. Made

* Bernard de Mesa quitted England at the beginning of April 1524, and died soon after his return to Spain. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii.)

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application for the six pieces of artillery belonging to the galleys. He was referred to the Master of the Ordnance, and Cardinal Wolsey said he wished the Signory to accommodate him with six guns, to be conveyed by the galleys. When conversing with the King elicited that he is not on good terms with the Emperor. The King blamed the Emperor's Chancellor [Gattinara] who counsels him, and who caused the transfer from England of the negotiations for the agreement with the Signory which were current in London. Details other conversations held with Wolsey during the course of two days.

London, —— to 4th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 4.

Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 209.

672. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The Bishop of Badajoz has arrived at the Court. Sir Thomas Boleyn will depart in two days.

Valladolid, 4th May 1523.

[*Italian*, 1 *page.*]

May 6.

Senato Mar, v. xx. p. 66.

673. The VENETIAN FACTORY in LONDON.

Motion in the Senate.

The proveditors for the London factory duty are unable to examine the accounts in order that the debts, amounting to 3,000 ducats, may be liquidated, because in their office at Venice, of all the books of the factory from 1510 to 1520, they have only those of the years 1515 and 1518. It is requisite therefore to make provision that the costs of bills of exchange and their renewal, amounting to upwards of 1,000 ducats, as stated in the consul's letters from London dated 7th January, may not continue. But the consul has failed to send the books.

Put to the ballot—That the consul in London be charged to send to Venice to the proveditors for the factory* all the missing books from 1510 to 1520, and all the Acts passed in the Council of XII., together with the estimates, from 1510 to the present day. The present consul and his successors henceforth to send all writings relating to their office whenever required so to do by the proveditors.

The consul and his successors to keep this order exactly under penalty of 200 golden ducats, to be levied on their personal property for every omission; the fine to be paid within six months after their return to Venice. Should payment not be made on the expiration of that term, the scribes for the quota, under pain of loss of place, to proclaim them debtors at the palace; and they are to be ineligible to any appointment until they shall have paid in full the arrears due to the office for the quota.

The consul of the London factory, under the like penalty, to be forbidden ever again to raise any money by bills of exchange save by express order from the proveditors for the quota.

Ayes, 161. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian*, 34 *lines.*]

* In the original "*cottimo*," which I have invariably translated "*factory*," although the word signifies literally "*quota*," or amount of duties exacted by the State from Venetian merchants in foreign countries.

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May 8.

674. CHANGE of DOMICILE of RICHARD PACE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 102.

In the morning the Signory and College, having assembled in the palace, determined to have the bells tolled, and to notify to all, the death of the Doge [Antonio Grimani].

Double peals were tolled at St. Mark's and at all the churches in Venice; the office and masses were ordained as usual. Briefs were addressed to every place under the seal of the senior counsellor, Andrea Magno, announcing the demise, and the noblemen abroad all received notice to come and elect the future Doge.

The Signory remained to dine in the palace on the upper story, as the [late Doge's?] furniture had not yet been removed.

The corpse, clad in the mantle, was in the "*Portego.*"

The Doge's grand-daughters, wives of the two procurators, went to reside in Cà Guerrozi, the abode of the Doge's son, the Cardinal who is at Rome, as their own house at Sta. Maria Formosa is inhabited by the English ambassador Pace, who will quit it. The said procurators, Marco and Vetor, the Doge's grandsons, betook themselves to San Vido, to the house of their uncle, Vicenzo Grimani, to receive those who may go to condole with them; so thither people went accordingly.

[*Italian.*]

May 13.

675. ——— to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. pp. 147, 148.

This morning a post from Wittemberg brought news that Francesco Sickingen, who retreated to a castle on the borders of Lorraine, had surrendered to the Elector of Treves, the Count Palatine, and the Landgrave of Hesse. The forces of the Archduke [Ferdinand] are not supposed to have arrived in time for the victory, as it was only a week ago that they left Stutgard, from which place the camp was four miles distant. The reason of so speedy a surrender of the castle, which was said to be impregnable, is that the garrison commenced vacillating, as they knew not why they should run the risk of death and trouble. Some are of opinion that Sickingen was not there in person, but a gentleman of his sect [a Lutheran?], who was captured shortly before by the Count Palatine, affirms positively that he was there.

The Diet [of Inspruck] was to have closed today. The natives who sit therein wished to depart yesterday, but his Serenity the Prince [Ferdinand] sent them word to wait until today, as there was still business to be done. What it may be is not yet known; but of the two demands made by the Prince, namely, 6,000 infantry, paid for six months, and 150,000 florins, they will at any rate grant him one, at his Serenity's option.

The messenger of the Emperor's ambassador, who is at Venice to negotiate peace, has again returned; and whereas his Serenity [the Archduke] would fain have a truce for some years, and not peace, yet the Venetians prefer war to truce, as they suspect that his Serenity [the Archduke], after establishing himself, will then attack them.

An ambassador from England, by name Dr. Clerk, is expected here today on his way to Rome to the Pope.

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At the commencement of next month the League of Swabia will attack the nobility of Franconia, who are for the most part highwaymen, and hostile to the Empire; so it has been determined to punish them, and the commander of the army is already here, negotiating with his Serenity.

It seems that a tenth is to be exacted from all the ecclesiastics at Inspruck in the Pope's name, to be expended against the Turks. This measure does not much please the churchmen.

The most serene Prince [the Archduke] has caused all Luther's books to be burnt, and some days afterwards the bookseller who sold them was banished this town for a year. There are many in this country who would be Lutherans were they not afraid of his Lordship.

Inspruck, 13th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 14. **676.** Antonio Surian to ———.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. pp. 189, 190.

"White Rose" will cross over to England, because a battle has been fought between the Scots and English, in which the latter were worsted.

Dated 14th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 15. **677.** Pace's Negotiations.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 113.

The Imperial and English ambassadors came into the College. They inquired whether the Signory had anything to negotiate, as Pace was obliged to depart. It was determined that the commissioners should go today to the Imperial ambassador; but they did not go, because the Procurator Zorzi Cornaro chose to attend the Grand Council.

[*Italian.*]

May 28. **678.** Zuam Badoer to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 194.

Has held several conversations with the King of France. The Duke of Albany, "White Rose," and Lautrec have been sent with troops to cross over to England because . . . . . .

Blois, —— to 28th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 10th June.*

[*Italian.*]

May 29. **679.** The Black Parliament.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 183.

Note by Sanuto.—In the letters from England account is given of the second sitting of Parliament, at which it was determined to elect four individuals, one for each of the ecclesiastical orders, with authority from them to assemble and decide. Cardinal Wolsey caused the election to be made of four individuals who are all his own creatures; so he can dispose of them. He will make them give two-thirds of the [ecclesiastical?] revenues. The Lords and others [the Commons?], likewise, will impose a tax of 300,000 ducats, but it will be [in fact?] 100,000.

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Sixteen ships have arrived in Scotland with the King of Denmark, his wife, and children. The cause is not known. Some say that he wants to obtain a stipend from the Scots; others that the Danes have expelled him from his kingdom. He would not disembark, and remained out at sea.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. **680.** NOTE by SANUTO.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 183.

Three letters from England were read [today in the Senate], as written above, with this in addition, that the Queen widow of Portugal, the Emperor's sister, and step-mother of the present King, seems to be pregnant by her said step-son.

The King of England had written to Pace, his ambassador at Venice, desiring him to go on a certain mission. He now desires him to remain where he is, and to continue negotiating the agreement between the Emperor and the Signory. The King and Cardinal are dissatisfied with the Emperor. They say, "double-tongued" (*bislinguæ*), &c.

[*Italian.*]

May 31. **681.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letter no. 212.

It is said that on Tuesday next the Emperor will go to Medina, to meet his sister the Queen of Portugal, who has arrived there. He will accompany her to Tordesillas, and then return hither.

Valladolid, 31st May 1523.

[*Italian,* ¾ *page.*]

May 31. **682.** GREGORIO CASALE to FEDERIGO GONZAGA, MARQUIS of MANTUA.

Mantuan Archives.

The falconers will have informed him how much his falcons pleased the King, and how much obliged he is to him.

Sends the Marquis the horses which ought to have been sent last winter, but Baptista, who had brought some from Italy, would not venture to take them at that season. Delayed moreover because he could find none to satisfy him, or that seemed worthy of the Marquis, as is the case at present, although he and the Master of the Horse have made very diligent search; but, unluckily for him (Casale), he could not find better or handsomer hobbies (*chinee*) either in London or in the country. Thinks there were never fewer. Beseeches the Marquis to pardon him, and to excuse the King, who wishes very much to get something worthy of his Excellency, towards whom he bears very great affection.

The King does not choose to send him greyhounds, as he has none suitable at present, suspecting that the English hounds would be disgraced by those of the Marquis. Now that the hunting season is commencing, there will be packs of hounds, and some choice ones, on a par perhaps with the Marquis's hounds, may be found; and should he deign to tell Baptista what sort he prefers,

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they shall be sent. Beseeches him also to order anything in England which he desires.

London, last day of May 1523.

Signed: Gregorio Casale.

[*Original. Italian.*]

June 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 224.

683. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The galleys are laden, and will depart on their homeward voyage in the middle of June.

London, 1st June. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 190.

684. PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Report to the Signory by Alvise Mocenigo, one of the three commissioners appointed to negotiate with the Imperial and English ambassadors, who informed the College that in lieu of the 200,000 ducats offered in the time of Adorno they now insisted on 250,000 ducats; that instead of 5,000 ducats for the fourth of the confiscated property of the rebels, they required 6,000; that the number of galleys offered for the defence of the kingdom of Naples must be increased from 15 to 20; and that the Signory must decide, because Pace meant to depart. The Doge replied that the Signory would consider and communicate their reply.

[*Italian.*]

June 6. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 20, tergo.

685. PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Put to the ballot, that our commissioners answer they acquainted the Senate with the proposals made by the Imperial ambassador, both as to the demand for 225,000 crowns, videlicet, 75,000 in ready money, and the rest in five years, and for 20 galleys with 1,500 infantry, or at least a thousand, and 6,000 ducats for the emigrants.*

That these demands surprised us, as the offers already made last January in the lifetime of Hieronymo Adorno exceeded the Signory's means, on account of the great cost incurred since the loss of Rhodes for their fleet and garrisons. Are of opinion that the Emperor should accept their last offer, namely, 200,000 crowns in eight years, 15 galleys, and 5,000 ducats for the emigrants.

To inform the Imperial and English ambassadors that the Signory

* Venetian subjects by birth, who had adhered to the Emperor during the league of Cambrai, and emigrated because their estates were confiscated. Amongst these emigrants was a Veronese, Count Nogarola, in one of whose daughters the Emperor Charles V. took great interest, at the time of the birth of Margaret of Austria at Valladolid, in the summer of 1523. The mother of Margaret of Austria, was called Van Geste, but it is possible that her maiden name was Nogarola. It is certain that at Burgos in May 1524, the Emperor gave a marriage portion to one of the daughters of the Count Girolamo Nogarola. The story of the marriage portion and of the birth of Margaret of Austria is told by Gasparo Contarini, date 23 May 1524 and 26 January 1525.

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will not ratify the agreement until after the receipt at Venice of the mandate and assent of the Archduke Ferdinand.

Ayes, 76. Noes, 109. Neutrals, 10.

[*Italian, 35 lines.*]

June 7. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 214, St. Mark's Library.

686. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor was expecting three ships from the Indies. Gold to the amount of 60,000 ducats, and produce worth as much more, were on board of two of them. They have been captured by certain Frenchmen, and the third vessel, which was in ballast, escaped.

The Emperor has notified at all the seaports in Spain that any of his subjects recovering these prizes shall receive one-half of their value, it being supposed that the Frenchmen are still at sea, and on the look-out for another ship from the Indies freighted with gold to the amount of upwards of 300,000 ducats. Arrangements are being made for its safe convoy.

Valladolid, 7th June 1523.

[*Italian, 1 page.*]

June 8. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 234.

687. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The King wanted to make the galleys unload the wools because they had not paid certain duties.

The Bishop of Winchester, who is much about the King,* but is blind, has advised him to make truce with France, and to recal two captains† sent by Wolsey against France for the sake of keeping them at a distance from the Court. The Bishop says that money is expended fruitlessly, and it seems that the Cardinal is no longer in such great favour with the King as formerly.

London, 8th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 9. Mantuan Archives.

688. GABRIELE CESANO to BATTISTA ABBATI, Secretary of Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.

Will not fail to keep negotiations on foot, and endeavour to demonstrate his devotion to the Marquis.

The bearer, Battista Sambuello, has taken great pains to procure horses, and to deliver them in good condition to the Marquis, from the King.

Offers his services to Abbati, and requests that he will keep him in favour with the Marquis.

From the English Court (*in curia invictissimi Angliæ Regis*), 9th June 1523.

Signed: Gabriele Cesano.

[*Original, Italian.*]

June 12. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 196.

689. PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

The Imperial and English ambassadors came into the College and demanded audience in presence of the Chiefs of the Ten. They said

* "*Qual è molto appresso il Re*,"—who has much influence with the King (?).

† Qu., the Duke of Suffolk, general of the English army in France, and Sir William Fitzwilliam, vice-admiral, commander of the fleet in the Channel.

1523. they had good news to give; that the mandate from the Archduke Ferdinand had been received by his ambassador; but they did not come with him, having hitherto negotiated this agreement by themselves. They requested the Signory either to authorize the commissioners, or to treat the agreement in the College, as they (the ambassadors) wished to bring it to a conclusion; and that this should be done speedily, because Pace was obliged to depart. The ambassadors withdrew, and were afterwards informed that the Signory wished to see the mandate and commission. The Doge evinced satisfaction at its receipt, so it only remains for them to exhibit it.

[*Italian.*]

June 12. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 21.

690. The PROPOSED LEAGUE.

The Senate having heard the Doge's report of what was said this morning by the Imperial and English ambassadors, and subsequently by the ambassador of the Archduke,—

Put to the ballot, that the Doge tell the Archduke's ambassador* that the Senate has well pondered his Prince's mandate, which appears to them a private power for the negotiation of matters between his Serenity and the Republic rather than with the Emperor. They therefore think that it would be well for the ambassador to write to the Archduke to send him a power to agree to whatever shall be stipulated between the Emperor and the Signory concerning his Highness in the peace and confederacy which are now being negotiated, as the Signory has always been assured by the Imperial and English ambassadors that the Archduke would do, to which effect his ambassador had read to the Signory a paragraph in a letter from him, dated Inspruck the 6th instant.

The like answer given to the other two ambassadors—Imperialist and English.

Ayes, 169. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian, 20 lines.*]

June 15. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 199.

691. The QUESTION of PRECEDENCE.

On Monday, the festival of San Vido, the Doge walked in procession as usual. Six ambassadors accompanied him, those of the Pope, the Emperor, France, Austria, Ferrara, and Mantua. The English ambassador was not present, because he will not take place below France.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Mantuan Archives.

692. GABRIELE CESANO to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

The bearer of the present letter, Battista, is on his way to the Marquis with horses from the King. Does not let him depart without letters to remind the Marquis of his observance.

In a former letter acquainted the Marquis's secretary, Messere Battista, with the goodwill which the King bears the Marquis, and the wish he has to do what is agreeable to him, and that this is

* Vido dalla Torre? See Deliberazioni Senato, vol. l., p. 87, tergo, 1524, 26 July :—"Essendosi hora per partir de qui il Mco. D. Vido dalla Torre, orator del Serenissimo Archiduca," etc.

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not the moment in which to execute the commands given by the Marquis to him (Cesano) when he quitted Mantua.

The King and Cardinal wrote also to this effect heretofore.

Will not fail to keep the negotiation alive, so as to be able to treat it in fitting time and place, and do what he can for the service of the Marquis, to whom he will notify the result by letter.

From the English Court (*in curia invictissimi Angliæ Regis*) 19th June 1523.

Signed: Gab. Cesan, secretary, &c.

[*Original, Italian.*]

June 21. **693.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 215, St. Mark's Library.

The Emperor sends 3,000 Spaniards to England, whence they will cross over to Flanders for an attack on France.

An English ambassador, a gentleman in waiting on the King [Sir Richard Jernyngham], has arrived at Valladolid. The State will doubtless have been acquainted with the object of his mission by the ambassador Surian.*

A few days ago the Emperor went to Medina, to meet his sister, the Queen of Portugal, and they then proceeded together to Tordesillas. They are expected to be at Valladolid tomorrow.

Valladolid, 21st June 1523.

[*Italian,* 1½ *page.*]

June 22. **694.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 238.

The affair of the Flanders galleys has been arranged. They are off St. Edward's, about to set sail.

London, 22nd June 1523. *Registered by Sanuto, 15th July.*

[*Italian.*]

June 22. **695.** PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 209.

The English ambassador came into College urging the despatch of what has to be done. He was told that as one of the commissioners, Zorzi Cornaro, was indisposed, they had been unable to go [to Pace ?]. Pace said they might send the other commissioners, as everything will be stipulated according to the understanding between the Signory and Adorno.

[*Italian.*]

June 23. **696.** NICOLÒ LEONICO.

Sanûto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 209.

Motion made in the Senate by the counsellors, that as a favour at the request of the ambassador from England, Dom. Nicolò Leonico be allowed to print his commentaries "*in parvis naturalibus.*"

Carried.

[*Italian.*]

June 23. **697.** NEGOTIATIONS of PACE and his COLLEAGUES.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. pp. 210, 211.

After the strictest injunctions to secrecy, the Doge rose in the Senate and stated that on Sunday last the secretaries of the ambas-

* Concerning the arrival of Sir Richard Jernyngham in Spain, see "State Papers," vol. vi. part 5, pp. 143 and following; also Harleian Catalogue, vol. i, pp. 178, 179.

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sadors [Sanchez, Caracciolo, and Pace] went to the College, requiring the commissioners to assemble and conclude. They were told in reply that Zorzi Cornaro, one of the commissioners, could not attend, having a sore foot. Caracciolo having been to Cornaro, and finding him unable to move, went yesterday to the College with Sanchez and Pace, saying that as all the three commissioners could not act, it would be well to discuss the matter in the College, and said it might be concluded by granting 225,000 ducats for the investitures, 8,000 ducats in lieu of 4,000 ducats for the fourth part of the estates belonging to the outlaws, and 20 galleys for the defence of Puglia. The Doge said the State could not give more than 200,000 ducats and 15 galleys, and that instead of the 6,000 ducats [at first] demanded for the outlaws, the Signory would give 5,000. The Doge announced this as the ultimatum, and more than the State could afford by reason of the Turk. The ambassadors wished another appeal to be made to the Senate, for the grant at least of two of the demands, if not of all three. The Doge told them there was no occasion to return. Then this morning the Papal Legate, Campeggio, and Pace, the English ambassador, came into the College, the former presenting a brief of credence, and saying he had also received a brief urging the Signory to ratify the agreement, as he hoped it would be the cause of peace between the Emperor and France. The English ambassador also exhorted the Signory in like manner. Then the Legate said he would guarantee the Emperor's acceptance of the 5,000 ducats; and Pace said, "And I hold myself responsible for the diminution of the 25,000 ducats: so as your Serenity wills it, thus be the matter concluded." The Doge told them he was perfectly satisfied, but that it was requisite to have the consent of the Imperialists, for Don Alfonso Sanchez was somewhat indisposed. With this they departed, and in the afternoon Pace went to speak with the Doge, who, considering the vast importance of the matter, did not think fit to refuse, although forbidden to receive similar visits. Pace said he had been with the Imperial ambassadors, who consented, and were drawing up the articles. So the affair may be said to be concluded, but must remain secret on account of the great danger to which our Flanders galleys (worth a vast sum of gold) are exposed on their homeward voyage having to pass by French towns and harbours. The strictest secrecy was enjoined, the oath being administered a second time to everybody.

The Doge also said that on Monday the French ambassador went into the College, desiring to know whether this Prothonotary Caracciolo brought any fresh commission, and whether he, the French ambassador, should write to the King of France to send "that personage" whom he had intended sending to the Signory. He stated that the Bishop of Bayeux will soon be in Venice.

The Doge told him nothing was concluded, and the State was procrastinating, but that her affairs were in danger, and the King of France would do well to make some arrangement. The ambassador departed not well satisfied.

The Doge having concluded this report, the whole Senate remained in suspense, for they would have wished for further delay, and the

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commissioners appointed, namely, Mocenigo and Venier (Cornaro was absent, being sick), went into the chancery with the secretary Vielmi, to note the articles.

[*Italian.*]

June 23. Senato Terra, v. xxiii. p. 21.

698. PETITION of RICHARD PACE in favour of LEONICO the Hellenist.

The Signory has been requested by the reverend ambassador of the King of England, as Dom. Nicolaus Leonicus Thomeus purposes publishing a commentary concerning natural history, translated from Greek to Latin, and explained by him after the fashion of the ancients, to grant him the exclusive copyright.

Put to the ballot, that it be conceded to the said Leonicus that no one but himself may print, or sell when printed, his aforesaid commentary, either at Venice or elsewhere in the Signory's dominions, unless it be the person to whom said Leonicus shall choose to intrust the printing and selling of the same, under penalty of forfeiting the book or books, and paying a fine of 10 ducats for each book, of which fine one-third to be paid to the magistracy in receipt of the first denunciation, one-third to the informer, and the last third to the Foundling Hospital in Venice.

The copyright to remain in force for 10 years.

Ayes, 128. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 2.

The letters patent were made out on —— June.

[*Latin, 15 lines.*]

June 24. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 145.

699. MARTIN LUTHER.

Letter presented to the Doge by the Mantuan ambassador, received from Inspruck, stating that the Archduke had caused all the books of Martin Luther, and their printer in person, to be burnt.*

[*Italian.*]

July 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. 243.

700. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

The galleys set sail from the island on the last day of June.

Dated 1st July. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 6. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 254.

701. The SAME to the SAME.

On the 4th instant the Flanders galleys set sail on their homeward voyage from St. Edward's.

London, 6th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th July.*

[*Italian.*]

July 7. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 216, St. Mark's Library.

702. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 22nd ult. the Queen of Portugal made her entry into Valladolid. She was met by the ambassadors, by the Royal Council, and by all the lords and gentlemen of the Court. The ambassadors paid her their compliments, which she reciprocated, and would not

* See 13th May.

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allow them to kiss her hand. She came in a litter, the Emperor riding on her left hand, her ladies following behind. The streets through which she passed were decorated with tapestry, and she was accompanied thus to her abode, adjoining that of the Emperor.*

On the 24th, the festival of the Baptist, the Emperor, dressed in African costume, after hearing mass in St. John's church, went into the country, where he tilted, and all partook of a collation on horseback; after which they returned into the town and performed the cane game in front of the Queen's residence.

In order not to appear inferior to the Spaniards from their lack of proficiency in the cane game, the Flemish noblemen, the Prince of Orange, Marquis d'Arschot, Count d'Egmonde, and others, numbering 12 in all, held a tournament, jousting with spears, six against six; and the collision of their horses was so violent that three of them fell, both men and beasts, and two of the horses were killed.

In the afternoon, on the square, there was a bull bait. When it was at its height, the Emperor entered the arena with his companions of the morning, but in more costly apparel, for almost all wore gold brocade and tissue, some indeed having plates and sheets of gold (*lame et piastre d'oro*) on their raiment in the guise of embroidery. They attacked the bulls with spears, the Emperor being foremost, and in truth bearing himself bravely. When the bulls were despatched, the cane game was again performed, and lasted for an hour; whereupon the entertainment ended.

The English ambassador who arrived lately [Jerningham] has, together with his colleague [Sampson], been in secret consultation at the Chancellor's house, together with the Imperial councillors, Mons. de Rœulx and Mons. de Bresse.

Believes that Jerningham, in the name of his King, has strongly urged the Emperor to undertake something against France. Since Jerningham's arrival, therefore, the Emperor seems hotter than before for this attack on France. Arrangements are already made for provisions and military stores, and some captains have been sent to raise infantry. The onset is to be made apparently in two directions; the one by way of Flanders by the English, the other towards Spain by the Emperor, who it is said will take the field in person. On the 5th instant, when dining with the Chancellor and talking about the war, was told by him that he was preparing his tents, and that he (Contarini) should do the like.

Valladolid, 7th July 1523.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

July 11. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 217, St. Mark's Library.

703. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

When mentioning the capture by the French of the two ships from the Indies with the Emperor's gold, added that a farther supply of 300,000 ducats was on its voyage. Was assured of this by the

* The Emperor resided in the Covos palace, and it is probable that the Queen dwelt in the mansion of the Count of Benevente, where Anne of Austria was born on the 22nd of September 1601.

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merchants, but, on investigating this last intelligence, discovered it to be false.

Valladolid, 11th July 1523.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page*.]

July 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 279.

704. PIERO ZEN, Venetian Ambassador, and ANDREA PRIULI, "Bailo" at Constantinople, to the SIGNORY.

Detail their conversations with Achmet Pascia. He asked them about Martin Luther. The ambassador replied that he had written sundry works about a certain opinion of his, but effected nothing.

Dated 24th June to 11th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th August.*

[*Italian*.]

July 11. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 234.

705. PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

The ambassadors from the Emperor, England, and Austria had audience of the College today.

[*Italian*.]

July 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 240.

706. IMPORT PERMIT for RICHARD PACE.

Motion made in the Senate by the whole College to remit the duty on 10 kilderkins (*anfore*) of wine belonging to the English ambassador.

Ayes, 137. Noes, 16. Neutrals, 9.

[*Italian*.]

July 18. Senato Terra, v. xxiii. p. 30. tergo.

707. IMPORT PERMIT for RICHARD PACE.

Motion made in the Senate,—

That, by authority of this Council, permission be given to the reverend English ambassador to bring into Venice, for his own use and that of his household, 10 kilderkins (*anfore*) of wine, duty free; the duty to be placed to the account of the Signory.

Ayes, 137. Noes, 16. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian*, 4 *lines*.]

July 23. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 25.

708. PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Conference with the Imperial and English ambassadors.

The Imperial and English ambassadors, and the Papal Legate likewise, having demanded a speedy and positive reply, whereby they may clearly understand the Signory's intention concerning the treaty of peace and confederacy with the Emperor, it is necessary no longer to delay.

Put to the ballot, that our commissioners confer with the said ambassadors, and first of all concerning the second clause about what we hold, they may draw it up in this form:—*That our Signory shall continue to possess peacefully, quietly, securely, and freely, without any disturbance of possession;* and that the rest of the clauses do follow.

Ayes, 165. Noes, 20. Neutrals, 15.

[*Italian*, 10 *lines*. *The passage in italics in Latin.*]

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July 26. **709.** Pace's Negotiations.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 246.

The English ambassador came into the College about these agreements in course of negotiation, and concerning the instrument to be drawn up by him promising, in the Emperor's name, concerning the "rate." When ratifying the articles he will insert the clause without reserve (*libere*).

[*Italian.*]

July 26. **710.** Gasparo Contarini to the Chiefs of the Ten.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 220, St. Mark's Library.

Sebastian Cabot, who has been residing at Seville, has returned hither on his way to Venice. He is endeavouring to obtain leave from the Imperial councillors to repair to Venice, and induce them to speak to me in his favour. This is what he tells me. Your Serenity shall be acquainted with the result.

Valladolid, 26th July 1523.

[*Italian,* ½ *page.*]

July 29. **711.** The Same to the Doge and Signory.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 221, St. Mark's Library.

Five caravels have arrived at Seville with about 150,000 gold Castilian pieces. As the greater part has been already consigned to certain persons in Valladolid, but little remains for the Emperor.

Does not perceive any preparations in confirmation of the statement made by the Chancellor, that the Emperor would take the field in person. The eagerness for war displayed a few days ago has subsided; nevertheless, on many accounts, and most especially to satisfy the King of England, some warlike demonstration will probably be made. It is undeniable that the Government are by no means remiss in exacting pecuniary supplies.

On the day of the Magdalen a stately joust was performed in front of the apartments occupied by the Emperor and the Queen of Portugal. The jousters were 20 in number, 10 on each side. On one side was the Emperor with nine other lords and gentlemen, all unmarried; their opponents being the Duke of Najera and as many more lords and gentlemen, all married. The liveries were of two sorts, and very magnificent.

The appointed prize was 40 pair of perfumed gloves, worth upwards of 200 ducats, but it has not yet been awarded, as the jousters did not finish their courses. The first spear was run by the Emperor, who in truth becomes daily more and more admirable in military exercises.

The five caravels from the Indies have not arrived at Seville, but at the Azores, and have written for convoy from fear of the French fleet. The amount of gold brought by them exceeds the sum quoted above.

Valladolid, 29th July 1523.

[*Italian,* 2¼ *pages.*]

July 30. **712.** Doge Andrea Gritti to King Henry VIII.

Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 7.

Returns thanks to the King for his good offices in favour of the peace and confederacy between the Signory and the Emperor,

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which has been delayed by the death of Hironimo Adorno, and by the tardy transmission of the power from the Infant Don Ferdinand, as the King would have heard by letters from his ambassador, Richard Pace, who has so strenuously co-operated for the attainment of his Majesty's friendly and loving desire on behalf of the State, that no more manifest testimony could be wished for.

[*Latin.*]

July 30. Mantuan Archives.

713. HENRY VIII. to FEDERIGO GONZAGA, MARQUIS of MANTUA.

Expresses gratitude for his fresh assurances of affection, announced in the letter of the right reverend Cardinal de' Medici. Thanks him cordially. Accepts his offers gratefully, and wishes to reciprocate them.

Greenwich, 30th July 1523.

Signed: Henricus Rex. *Countersigned:* Petrus Vannes.

[*Original, Latin.*]

July 30. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 27.

714. The DOGE and SENATE to MARCO FOSCARI, Ambassador in Rome.

Conclusion and stipulation of their peace and confederacy with the Emperor.

In reply to his letters of the 15th and 17th instant, announcing the communication made to him by the Pope about the league between his Holiness, the Emperor, the King of England, the Signory, the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, and others, for the defence of Italy, had received a similar notice from the Papal Legate [Campeggio], according to a brief of credence.

Did not answer immediately, because they had been exhorted by the Pope, first of all, to conclude the peace and confederacy with the Emperor.

To offer due congratulations thereon to the Viceroy (should he be at Rome), to the Duke of Sessa and the other Imperialists, to the English ambassador [John Clerk, Bishop of Bath], and also to the Archduke's representative, should there be one at Rome.

Ayes, 159.

Proposed amendment—

That on account of the lateness of the hour the present letters be delayed until tomorrow.

Ayes, 47. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 38 lines.*]

July 30. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 28.

715. The DOGE and SENATE to ANTONIO SURIAN, Ambassador in England.

Postponed writing until able to announce the conclusion of the peace and confederacy between the Emperor and the Signory, which, to their extreme satisfaction, was, by God's grace, stipulated yesterday. The delay had been caused, first, by the death of Hieronymo Adorno, and then on account of the power from the Archduke, as also by reason of other difficulties, inevitable in a matter of such great importance.

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Out of their devotion to the Emperor, and for the sake of adhering to the very sage suggestions of that most potent King and right reverend Cardinal, they sacrificed advantages of no slight import to the State, and removed every difficulty for the sake of concluding the business.

To this his Majesty's ambassador, the Rev. Richard Pace, can bear witness. Throughout these negotiations he has displayed so much diligence, address, and prudence, and performed such good offices on both sides, that they deservedly commend him, as he laboured incessantly until the conclusion.

Trust that the confederacy may be the cause of universal peace, and of very great benefit to the Christian commonwealth, to the perpetual honour and exaltation of his Majesty.

To communicate all letters to the King and Cardinal, assuring them of the Signory's affection and obligation for the excellent offices rendered by him (*lei*) and his ambassador aforesaid, assuring them of the gratitude of the State at all times, and that the King may rely on everything that can be desired from his true friends and confederates.

Ayes, 197. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 27 *lines*.]

July 30. **716.** Conclusion of the League.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 254.

A proclamation was made today by Gasparo della Vedoa, that on Sunday next a solemn mass will be chaunted at St. Mark's for the peace and league which have been stipulated. The ambassadors will accompany the Doge: so all are to come in good order and well arrayed, for the honour of the State.

The English ambassador wrote a letter to the Doge telling him that this agreement seemed mute, and that rejoicings should be made. Domenego Venier, sage for the main land, was inclined to move in the Senate for the bells to be rung and for bonfires to be burnt; but he had not the heart to make the motion, because the Doge said that he would speak against it for two hours, both to avoid irritating the King of France, and also on account of the Turk.

None of the articles of the agreement were read. It is between the Emperor, the Archduke [Ferdinand] of Austria, the Signory of Venice, and the Duke of Milan, through the mediation of the Pope and of the King of England. They have assigned the term of four months within which the King of France and the Duke of Ferrara are at liberty to become parties to it.

[*Italian.*]

July 30. **717.** Conclusion of the League.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxixv. p. 254.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages, for a letter to the ambassador in England, acquainting him with the conclusion of the peace, which the Signory had effected for the sake of doing what was agreeable to the King of England, and lauding the adroit operations of his ambassador, Richard Pace, who has comported

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himself most excellently. The motion was carried by the whole College.

[*Italian.*]

July 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 255.

718. Pace's Negotiations.

The English ambassador came into the College this morning, and spoke about making rejoicings. He was told that such demonstrations were omitted on account of the Turk. Pace rejoined, "To-morrow the Imperial ambassador resident here will dress himself in cloth of gold." The Doge made answer, "We also shall dress ourselves in cloth of gold."

[*Italian.*]

July 31. Misti Consiglio X. v. xlvi. p. 50.

719. Motion and Amendment made in the Council of Ten with the Junta, concerning a present for Richard Pace.

The reverend ambassador of the King of England informed the Signory this morning that he intended to depart on Sunday next.

It is fitting to do him honour, both by reason of the trouble taken by him for the negotiation of the peace now concluded, and to keep him well disposed towards the Signory.

Put to the ballot—that by authority of this Council the aforesaid ambassador be presented with a collar worth one thousand golden ducats, the entire sum to be supplied by the chest of this Council, or by the mint from the gold [in ingots?] there. The amount to be replaced with the first money received by the governors of the revenues on account of the lapsed tenth (*la X^ma. persa*), and no other money order to be given until this reimbursement be made, under penalty of the punishment inflicted on thieves.

Ayes, 8—9. Noes, 6—0. Neutrals, 0—5.

Amendment—Leave out the words "one thousand golden ducats," in order to insert the words "eight hundred golden ducats."

Ayes, 14—14.

This amendment was again put alone, with no and neutral, and the votes were—

Ayes, 21. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 0. Order made out.

[*Italian, 12 lines.*]

July 31. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 7.

720. Doge Andrea Gritti to Cardinal Wolsey.

The Cardinal will have learned the cause of the delay of the ratification of the peace with the Emperor from the letters of the Ambassador Pace. Returns thanks to the Cardinal for his good offices, which so well become a true hinge of the Church of Rome (*verum Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinem*). Pace's negotiations in this matter have afforded proof of the sincere good will borne to the Signory by the King and Cardinal.

[*Latin.*]

July 31. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), File no. 7.

721. The Doge and College to Antonio Surian, Venetian Ambassador in England.

In addition to the letter written by them to him, concerning the conclusion of the peace with the Emperor, address missives to the King and Cardinal, which he is to present in suitable form.

[*Italian.*]

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July. **722.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 275.

The King is very anxious for the agreement to take place.

News received that the Emperor in person, with 15,000 infantry and 2,000 horse, was gone to recover Fonterabia, held by the French, and that he was battering the town.

London, — July. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 1. **723.** PACE'S NEGOTIATIONS.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 269.

The Imperial ambassadors Caracciolo and Sanchez, together with the English ambassador, the ambassador from the Archduke of Austria, and the ambassador from the Duke of Milan, Dom. Francesco Taverna (who will reside at Venice), came into the College. They spoke together about what is to be done. The English ambassador will depart in three days on his way to the Switzers, by commission from his King, to prevent the cantons from stirring in favour of the King of France.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2. **724.** The QUESTION of PRECEDENCE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 270.

On the morning of Sunday the 2nd the Doge, dressed in gold brocade, with a cap of the same material, came into St. Mark's Church to attend high mass, sung by the rector of St. Aponal, vicar of St. Mark's. The following ambassadors were present:— the Legate Campeggio; the Imperial ambassadors, Prothonotary Caracciolo and Don. Alfonso Sanchez, this last wearing a doublet (*ropom*) of gold lama, with a cape of crimson velvet; Dom. Richard Pace, the English ambassador, who has never hitherto gone in procession with the Signory on account of the French ambassador; the ambassadors from Poland, from the Archduke of Austria, from the Duke of Milan, from Ferrara and from Mantua; nine in all. It was a very beautiful sight.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. **725.** PRESENT to PACE'S SECRETARY by the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 273.

Motion made in the Senate, and carried, to give 300 golden ducats to the ambassador of the Archduke of Austria, who is returning home, and 50 golden ducats to the secretary of the English ambassador. These sums were given accordingly.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 4. **726.** PRESENT to PACE'S SECRETARY.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 39, tergo.

Decree of the Senate for presents to be given to the ambassador of the Archduke Ferdinand, to his secretary, and to the secretary of Richard Pace.

The Ambassador of the Most Serene "*Infante*," having taken leave of the Signory, to return to his lord, the Signory should treat him with their usual munificence, in like manner as done by the English ambassador.

Put to the ballot—that 300 golden ducats be given to the ambassador aforesaid, and 25 ducats to his secretary.

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Also 50 ducats to the secretary of the reverend English ambassador above mentioned, to be given him in ready money, or in so much plate (*arzenti*), or in other effects, as shall seem most fitting to the College.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 10 *lines*.]

Aug. 5.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 274.

727. Departure of Pace from Venice.

This morning Dom. Richard Pace, the English ambassador, departed. He is going to Padua, and thence to Switzerland. The Governors were written to, to do him honour.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 7.

Misti Consiglio X., v. xlvi. p. 52, tergo.

728. Gold Collar for Pace.

The treasurer of this Council having consigned gold to the amount of 800 golden Venetian ducats with which to make the collar for the English ambassador, according to the decree passed on the 31st ult.,—Put to the ballot that these 800 ducats which have been paid out be understood to have been really given in gold of the Venetian standard, such in fact being the amount of the said gold consigned as above.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 8 *lines*.]

Aug. 10.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 222, St. Mark's Library.

729. Gasparo Contarini to the Doge and Signory.

Receipt of news from the Emperor's ambassador in Venice, that the King of France has promised the Signory to come into Italy in person. This intelligence is not believed, as the King would be apprehensive of the English in Picardy and Normandy, and of the Spaniards in the direction of Narbonne, where the Emperor will make sufficient provision. It is conjectured that the King of France will send the Duke of Bourbon to Milan.

Valladolid, 10th August 1523.

[*Italian*, 1¼ *page*.]

Aug. 11.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 30.

730. Recall of Antonio Surian, Ambassador in England.

During the last five years the nobleman, Antonio Surian, LL.D. and knight, has served the Signory at the English Court with no mean praise to himself and to the Republic's satisfaction.

Put to the ballot—that our nobleman aforesaid do take leave of the King, the Cardinal, and other chief lords of the Court, and, after acquainting himself with all such English affairs as may be worthy of the knowledge, return to our presence, leaving his secretary in England until the receipt of further orders from the Signory.

Ayes, 159. Noes, 14. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian*, 11 *lines*.]

Aug. 11.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxiv. p. 281.

731. Recall of Surian.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages, and carried,—that permission be given to Antonio Surian, Venetian ambassador in

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England, to take leave of the King and return home, his secretary remaining in England.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta), Lib. No. 7.

732. The Doge and College to Antonio Surian, Ambassador in England.

Having acquainted the Pope with the ratification of the confederacy, he wrote back praising and blessing so auspicious a work; wherefore the Signory has determined, on the following Saturday, which will be the festival of the Virgin's Assumption, to have the peace and confederacy proclaimed in Venice, and also in the Signory's other cities and places, with the usual solemnities and ceremonies.

To mention this in the Signory's name to the King and Cardinal, and to such other personages as he may think fit.

The Reverend Richard Pace quitted Venice a week ago.

As he has earnestly requested leave to return home, complaining lately of his health, it appears reasonable to put an end to his protracted and toilsome labours in England, which he has undergone advantageously for the interests of the State, with praise to himself, and to the satisfaction of the Signory. Therefore give him permission to take leave of the King and Cardinal, and after paying the usual visits to the chief personages of the Court, desire him to return home, well acquainted with all such English intelligence as may be worthy of the Signory's cognizance.

To leave his secretary in England for the present, until the State appoint another ambassador.

As the Ambassador Pace has promised on behalf of the King of England, with regard to the articles of the peace, that his Majesty will cause the Emperor to agree to the restitution of all seizures made mutually during the late war (which would serve not a little to consolidate the confederacy), is to endeavour to effect the fulfilment of that promise.

Moreover, according to the articles of the peace, the Pope and the King of England were declared its conservators and protectors. The Signory accepted the clause most heartily, and desires that very honorable mention of the fact should be made in the proclamation of the peace. To endeavour, before his departure from England, to prevail on the King to draw up some document to this effect in the fullest form possible, according to the clause in the treaty, the copy of which clause they enclose.* Believe the King will show himself prompt and ready to give the voucher.

Received his letters of the 3rd, 6th, and 17th July on the 11th August. When taking leave of the King, to use his utmost ability and eloquence to convince him thoroughly of the goodwill preserved by the State as an heirloom towards the powerful Crown of England and the Cardinal, recommending to them the Venetian merchants trading in England, and, last of all, apologizing for his own departure without awaiting the arrival of his successor.

[*Italian.*]

* I cannot find any note of this clause in Rymer or Dumont.

1523.
Aug. 14. **733.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 303. The King of England has prepared 14,000 men for an attack on France.

Dated 14th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd September.*

Note by Sanuto that last evening (13th August) the Imperial ambassador sent sure intelligence (*certo adviso*) to the College, that the Scots had taken the fleet on board of which the said troops were to have embarked.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. **734.** PROCLAMATION of the LEAGUE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. pp. 282, 283. On Saturday morning the 15th high mass was celebrated by the Patriarch Antonio Contarini. There were carried in procession the armorial bearings of the League,—of the Pope, the Emperor, the King of England, the Archduke of Austria, of St. Mark and the Doge, and of the Duke of Milan.

The Doge wore a new dress made for the occasion; he was accompanied by the Papal Legate, Campeggio, by the prothonotary, Caracciolo, and Sanchez, and by the ambassadors from Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua.

The crier Nicoleto, dressed in scarlet, ascended the edict-stone, together with the Vice-Chancellor Gasparo di la Vedoa, also in scarlet, and after a flourish of trumpets, the proclamation was made.

It is said the belfries and the houses of the ambassadors will be illuminated this evening. The College has written orders to the towns for a similar procession and proclamation to be made there on this same day. The like will be done at Milan.

The French ambassador and Mons. de Villiers and Renzo di Cere stayed at home in sadness.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. **735.** PROCLAMATION by DOGE ANDREA GRITTI.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. pp. 282, 283. Announcing the stipulation on the 29th of July last, of peace, &c. between the Emperor and his brother, Archduke Ferdinand, and the Signory and Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, for the mutual defence and preservation of their territories in Italy.

Of this peace and confederacy the conservators are, the most holy Pope Adrian VI. and the most serene and most potent Lord Henry King of England.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15. **736.** PROCLAMATION of the LEAGUE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 284. This evening the belfries were illuminated, and during the day there was bell ringing, as a mark of rejoicing. At the Legate's residence there were fireworks and music; and to make a greater show the Milanese ambassador, who resided in the Signory's house at San Giorgio Maggiore, burnt bonfires and discharged artillery. There was also dancing.

[*Italian.*]

1523.

Aug. 16. **737.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 223, St. Mark's Library.

Some three months ago Mons. de Beaurain went from Valladolid to England, and thence to Flanders. Yesterday he returned, and brings word that arrangements have been made in Burgundy for 18,000 infantry with which to wage war on France in that direction.

Nothing is known of the movements of the King of France, nor have any advices been received from England.

Valladolid, 16th August 1523.

[*Italian*, ¾ *page.*]

Aug. 17. **738.** REJOICINGS at VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 286.

Last evening the belfries were illuminated on account of the league. There were also illuminations at the houses of the Legate and of the two Imperial ambassadors, but above all at S. Giorgio Maggiore, where the Milanese ambassador resides with the others. There was music on stages. In the evening 2,000 boats went to see the sight, which will be repeated this evening for the last time, the entertainments having been continued during three days.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. **739.** ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 338.

Twenty thousand English are to invade France. Cardinal Wolsey tells him they will cross on the 28th. The news of the agreement between the Emperor and the Signory has been received. Went to the King and Cardinal, who were much pleased. He (Surian) and the Imperial ambassador made great rejoicings; and he in particular gave a grand banquet to the English lords (*a queli signori*).

Dated 20th August. *Registered by Sanuto, 21st September.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 20. **740.** RECALL of the VENETIAN SECRETARY in ENGLAND.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 30, tergo.

The Senate lately gave licence to the nobleman, Antonio Surian, LL.D. and knight, ambassador in England, to return home, leaving his secretary there. As the secretary is not in good health, and for other reasons,—Put to the ballot, that our consul in London be charged to transact such business as necessary, according to the custom of Venetian consuls at other periods; and that the said secretary be commanded to return home.

Ayes, 168. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian, 8 lines.*]

Aug. 21. **741.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 224, St. Mark's Library.

On the 20th letters arrived from the Emperor's ambassadors in Venice with the unexpected account of the stipulation of the treaty between his Majesty and the Republic.

This morning went with the Chancellor [Gattinara] to the Emperor, by whom he was received most graciously, nor had he ever seen him so cheerful or more contented. He would not allow his hand to be kissed, but embraced him (Contarini), and in reply to

1523. his discourse, said, "In truth, I have always borne the Signory goodwill. During the last few days, the delay distressed me much, by reason of the suspicion entertained, which was generally injurious to the whole of Italy and to Christendom. I now see by the result that the report was false, and congratulate myself exceedingly on the common weal of Italy, which is now united, for the benefit of Christendom. I had the welfare of the Signory at heart, as much as my own."

Will not omit telling the Signory also of the embraces and greeting given him by the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Count of Geneva, Mons. de Beaurain, the Comendador Mayor, Mons. de la Chau, and others, who all acknowledged that the welfare of Christendom depended on this confederacy. The Chancellor rejoices beyond measure at this peace. Recommends the State to write to the Chancellor, and to the Count of Nassau and Mons. de Bresse.

Valladolid, 21st August 1523.

P.S.—This letter has been detained until the 24th.

This morning the Emperor attended mass in the church of St. Benedict, accompanied by the ambassadors and the Court. The mass of the Holy Ghost was sung as thanksgiving for the confederacy with the Republic,—a demonstration which the Emperor is accustomed to make whenever prosperous events befall him.

[*Italian*, 2¼ *pages.*]

Aug. 25. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 31, tergo.

742. The DOGE and SENATE to MARCO FOSCARI, Ambassador in ROME.

Received his letters dated the 19th and 20th yesterday. Congratulate themselves on the Pope's convalescence in like manner as they regretted to hear of his illness.

In conformity with the advices sent to Rome from Milan about the coming of the King of France to Lyons, and his continued preparations for the attack on the Milanese, the Signory also has letters from their ambassador, dated Lyons, the 14th, giving well nigh the same information (as by the enclosed summaries), and confirming it, even after the King had heard of the conclusion of the Signory's peace and confederacy; with this, in addition, that the coming of the French may be expected, especially as the expedition against England, which was to have been effected through White Rose [Richard de la Pole], has been suspended and renounced.

Ayes, 205. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian*, 36 *lines.*]

Aug. 27. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 226, St. Mark's Library.

743. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

A Burgundian gentleman named Montfort has arrived with news of the passage across to Calais of 16,000 English infantry and 1,000 horse, who are to join 3,000 other horse and 4,000 German infantry, forming a total of 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse.

The Emperor departed on Tuesday morning before daybreak for Burgos. The Chancellor will follow on Saturday. I am to accompany him. From Burgos the Court will proceed to Lorgoño.

Valladolid, 27th August 1523.

[*Italian*, 1 *page.*]

1523.
Aug. 29. **744.** NEWS of ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 300. Report circulated by the Imperialists (at Venice) that the English had made truce with the Scots for 12 years, and that Mons. de Lautrec was in Scotland with 12,000 men for the defence of that country.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1. **745.** MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 307. According to letters received here from England, the King was sending troops over to France. The Pope is very intent on providing money.

Rome, 1st September. *Registered by Sanuto on the 5th.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2. **746.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the DOGE and SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 227, St. Mark's Library. Arrived at Burgos on the 1st of September; on the 2nd presented himself to the Emperor, and accompanied him to mass. The Chancellor is in great spirits, and not only hopes for victory against the French, but considers it certain. From words uttered by him and others, since the arrival of the Frenchman La Motte,* is of opinion that the Imperialists have an understanding either with some great personage in France or with some French town.†

Was informed by the Chancellor that Andrea Doria, who with his galleys is now in the service of France, has sent to offer himself to the Emperor, who announced this to the Chancellor when on the road from Valladolid to Burgos, asking the Chancellor's advice. The Chancellor wrote back that the Emperor ought to accept the proposal.‡

Burgos, 2nd September 1523.

[*Italian,* 1½ *page.*]

Sept. 5. **747.** MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 309. The Pope is very ill indeed, so that the Cardinals have commenced canvassing the popedom. It is reported here that the King of France has made a truce with the King of England.

Rome, 5th September. *Registered by Sanuto on the 9th.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 5. **748.** LODOVICO SPINELLI, Venetian Secretary in England, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 360. Writes because the ambassador is ill. The English forces having landed in France, suffered loss; the French pursued them, and when the English wanted to embark some of them were killed.

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* The agent of the Duke of Bourbon. His arrival was mentioned in letter no. 221, date 2nd August.

† According to a letter from Boleyn and Sampson, calendared in the Harleian Catalogue, the Duke of Bourbon had been negotiating with Charles V. and Henry VIII. ever since the close of 1522, but Contarini failed to detect the intrigue until after a lapse of eight months.

‡ The historians Guicciardini and Andrea Morosini do not date Doria's entry into the service of France until 1527. We now see that he was receiving pay from France in 1523, and that he was even then no less unscrupulous about changing sides than the Constable of Bourbon. Andrea Doria did not finally transfer his allegiance to the Emperor until the year 1528.

1523.

An ambassador from Madame Margaret has arrived on the island, and had audience of the King. The Cardinal believed that he was come to speak and consult about the expedition to be made, whereas he asked the King for a loan of money. Wolsey abused the ambassador, and would not give him anything.

London, 5th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 6. Patti Sciolti, no. 802.

749. HENRY VIII. to DOGE ANDREA GRITI.

Never read any letters with greater satisfaction than those addressed to him by the Doge on the 30th July. No Christian Sovereign can exult more than he does at the news of the peace between the Emperor and the Signory. Congratulates himself and the whole of Christendom on the result, and above all, Italy; redoubling the exhortations sedulously addressed by him to the State. Expatiates on the very great pleasure derived from the statement contained in the letters of the English ambassador at Venice, and from the narrative of the Venetian ambassador in England. Returns very great thanks, and confesses himself yet more indebted for the weight attached by the State to his very loving counsel and sincere persuasions.

By means of this confederacy relies on bringing to reason, without much difficulty, such princes as perchance from mere ambition might act to the detriment of the Christian commonwealth.

Will use every endeavour to strengthen the alliance, and praises the exertions of Antonio Surian, the Venetian ambassador in England, extolling his singular prudence and erudition, and his extreme skill and address in negotiating.

Okyng, 6th September 1523.

Signed: Henry Rex.

Countersigned: Petrus Vannes.

[*Original; parchment.** *Latin*, 18 *lines.*]

Sept. 6. Patti Sciolti, no. 803.

750. CARDINAL WOLSEY to DOGE ANDREA GRITI.

Expresses the satisfaction of King Henry and himself at the treaty stipulated between the Emperor and the Signory,† anticipating thence universal peace, which would have ensued long ago had it not been impeded by the immoderate ambition of certain Sovereigns.

Informs him that King Henry having, contrary to general expectation, received this very agreeable announcement, rejoices marvellously; and although he doubts not of the stability of the agreement, will nevertheless sedulously exert himself to render it daily more firm,—a bias which on every account he (Wolsey) purposes encouraging to the utmost.

Commends himself humbly to the Doge.

London, 6th September 1523.

[*Original; paper. Latin*, 26 *lines.*]

* This letter is also registered in the Commemoriale, v. xx. p. 291, tergo.

† That treaty was dated 29th July 1523. (See Commemoriale, vol. xx. p. 73., and Romanin, vol. v. p. 363.)

1523.
Sept. 12.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 228, St. Mark's Library.

751. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Informed by the Chancellor that an envoy has arrived from the the Duke of Savoy to sound the Emperor concerning an adjustment with France, for which the Duke offers his mediation, and also asks permission to remain neutral in the war. The Emperor replied, that being in confederacy with the King of England, as likewise with the Pope and the Republic, he could not discuss such a matter save with their consent and knowledge. With regard to the neutrality of Savoy, he said that as the Duke was the subject of the Empire, and consequently of the Emperor, it was not fair that he should remain neutral to the prejudice of his Sovereign.

The Savoyard envoy added that the King of France was at Lyons, and had announced his intention of descending into Italy, notwithstanding the peace stipulated between the Signory and the Emperor, saying word for word as follows: "I hold those rascal merchants* in no account whatever, for they never keep faith, and in like manner as they have broken it with me, so will they do by the Emperor."

Remarked to the Chancellor that this charge might well be brought by the Republic against France, but the State had never broken faith with any one. The Chancellor, in reply to his details concerning the agreement made by the French at Cremona, said, "It is perfectly clear; never did I see faith kept so religiously as yours with the French;" adding that the King of France announced his intention of going into Italy to reconquer the Milanese, but said he should return in time to expel the Spaniards, the English, and the Germans, who, as now known to him, purposed invading France.

The five caravels from the Indies have at length arrived at Seville. Some persons say they bring about 300,000 gold pieces, equal to 400,000 ducats; others represent the amount as much greater. Of this sum the Emperor's share amounts to about 100,000 ducats, the residue being forestalled; though it is supposed that the want of money for the war will make them assign other funds for the creditors.

On board of these caravels there is much sugar and cassia; also hides and other merchandise, and a good number of pearls.

Burgos, 12th September 1523.

[*Italian*, 4½ *pages.*]

Sept. 15.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 230, St. Mark's Library.

752. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

In the course of conversation with the Chancellor, both last year, when riding together from Saint Ander towards Palencia, and now when discussing the faith kept by the French, was told by him that King Francis, first of all with Maximilian, and after his death at the conference of Montpellier [4 May 1519], proposed to the present Emperor through the Lord Steward [Gouffier de Boissi] the partition of Italy, as follows:—He was to take for himself the duchy of

* "Questi villani mercadanti."

1523. Savoy and Brescia, Bergamo, and Crema, assuming the title of King of Lombardy, but acknowledging it as an Imperial fief.* He then bound himself, almost entirely at his own expense, to aid the Emperor until he should obtain all the rest. The minutes of this contract were drawn up, and the Chancellor said that he could show them to him. Subsequently, when the Provost of Utrecht was the present Emperor's ambassador in France, they (the French) urged the stipulation of this partition treaty; though it is perfectly true that since his Majesty's election to the Empire the King of France has always sought to humble him. In conclusion, the Chancellor said, "This, then, is the faith kept you by the French."

Burgos, 15th September 1523.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page*.]

Sept. 18. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 26, tergo.

753. The DOGE and SENATE to MARCO FOSCARI, Ambassador in Rome.

Are advised of the death of the Pope. To condole in the Signory's name with the Cardinals on this demise.

On the 14th the French troops crossed the Ticino without any opposition. They are quartered between Binasco and Biagrassa, some 15 miles from Milan, into which city and its suburbs Prospero Colonna has retreated with his troops, after placing a strong garrison in Pavia. Lodi has been abandoned by its governor, who went to Crema, whither the English ambassador, the Reverend Richard Pace, also betook himself from Milan. The Signory is intent on mustering the troops, and has given orders accordingly to our Proveditor-General not to lose any time in aiding the expedition, to secure which, additionally, they have determined to increase their infantry force to the amount of 10,000 men, and will raise another 200 men-at-arms. The Duke of Urbino, the governor-general of their army, is to leave that town (Crema) today. Are very anxious for his arrival.

Ayes, 180. Noes, 14. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*, 45 *lines*.]

Sept. 18. Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 37, tergo.

754. The SAME to GASPARO CONTARINI, Ambassador with the Emperor.

Acquaint him with all the provision made and steps taken by them, that he may announce them to the Emperor, being very sure that he will have done as becoming his magnanimity and power in every direction, and that the King of England will have acted in like manner; nor do they doubt but that through the Emperor's care this French stir, which appears so brisk, will be quelled, so that the mutual territories may obtain perpetual peace and quiet.

The letter to be antedated 16th September.

[*Italian*, 71 *lines*.]

* "Che lui voleva haver il ducato di Savogia et Brexa, Bergamo, et Crema, et tor titolo di Re di Lombardia, cum recognitione però da l'imperio."

1523.
Sept. 18. **755.** PRESENT from HENRY VIII. to ANTONIO SURIAN.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 37, tergo.

Motion made in the Senate.—By the relation of Antonio Surian, LL.D. and knight, lately returned from his embassy to England, the Senate has heard how well and worthily he bore himself during so long and laborious a mission, with very great application, vigilance, and cost, so that he deserves compensation from the Signory.

Put to the ballot—that by authority of this Council there be given to our aforesaid nobleman the 500 crowns presented to him by the King of England.

Ayes -	- 115 -	119 } Undecided.
Noes -	- 80	
Neutral	- 3	

Amendment.—That of the said 500 crowns only 300 be given him.

Ayes, 30. Noes, 43. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian, 6 lines.*]

Sept. 21. **756.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxiv. p. 360.

The news of the Pope's death arrived here from Rome in six days.* King Francis told Badoer that he should therefore come into Italy. He also said that the English had crossed over to France to a port called Tripolto [Treport ?], and were driven back.

Lyons, 21st September. *Registered by Sanuto, 29th September.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 24. **757.** GABRIEL CESANO to Messer ABBATINO, Secretary of the Marquis of Mantua.

Mantuan Archives.

Acknowledges receipt of his letters. Requests that he will continue to give him news of the war, as, besides doing an especial favour to his (Cesano's) right reverend master, the King and Cardinal (Wolsey) will be greatly obliged to him, both one and the other being very desirous of intelligence.

They have mustered 15,000 English infantry, and 6,000, or at least 5,000, Burgundians, with 700 spears, against France. Hears that they entered the French territory on the 19th inst., to draw off the war from Italy; and by this time the Emperor will be in the field with a still greater force. Hopes therefore that the French will now fare badly. Desires him to send his letters under cover to Messer Jo. Gabriel Bonante, merchant at Antwerp, who is a very staunch Imperialist, and performs this office very willingly. Having no special courier, has always written to him (Abbatino) through Bonante. Repeats his recommendation of Messer Baptista Sambuello, because he loves him heartily.

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* Pope Adrian VI. died at Rome on the 24th of September 1523, according to "*L'Art de Verifier les Dates*" (edition, Paris, 1770), but by the "State Papers," vol. vi. part 5, p. 178, it is seen that his death took place on the 14th of September.

1523.

The King is now at a distance of more than 60 miles from London, but in a few days he will be on his way back.

London, 24th September 1523.

Signed: Gab. Cesano.

[*Original, Italian.*]

Sept. 24. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 231, St. Mark's Library.

758. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Arrived at Logroño yesterday, having been preceded by the Emperor and the Chancellor.

A report had been circulated to the effect that the Duke of Bourbon had made an agreement with the Emperor. Yesterday the fact was confirmed by the Chancellor, who said that according to letters from Narbonne it appeared that the Duke of Bourbon was no longer in France, it being generally reported there that he had come to the Emperor.

At Logroño it is said the Emperor will give him his sister, the Queen of Portugal, in marriage; and possibly on this account the Emperor joins the camp in person. Having with him the Duke of Bourbon, who is said to be very popular in France, he might effect some great revolution there.

Letters from England, dated the 1st, announce the passage of the Duke of Suffolk to Calais with the English troops, who were on their march to besiege Boulogne, as the State will have heard more authentically from the Ambassador Surian.

Logroño, 24th September 1523.

[*Italian, 3 pages.*]

Sept. 25. Patti Sciolti.

759. HENRY VIII.

Letters patent announcing that he has become a party to the confederacy between the Emperor and the Signory of Venice, stipulated on the 29th of July 1523; that it has been formed through his persuasion; that he and the Pope Adrian VI. may be considered its conservators; and that the Venetian ambassador in England, Antonio Surian, having shown him its articles, he perceives them to contain nothing but what will manifestly contribute to the common weal, and vastly aid those who seek to repress the very iniquitous efforts of such as aim at the destruction of the entire Christian commonwealth.

Pledges his kingly word to give the treaty his utmost support, and to mediate between its framers in case of need.

Woodstock, 25th September 1523.

Signed: Toneys.*

[*Original; parchment, with the great seal in wax. Latin, 15 lines; dimensions, 17 in. by 8.*]

Sept. 27. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 91.

760. ANTONIO SURIAN to the SIGNORY.

Has taken leave of the King and Cardinal and quitted the English Court. Eight thousand English have crossed over to Flanders

* These letters are also registered in the Commemoriale, vol. xx. p. 192.

1523.

(*di qua*) with the Duke of Suffolk, to effect a junction with . . . . . , and with 5,000 lansquenets (although Surian does not believe they will be more than 2,000) and 15 pieces of artillery. They mean to attack France. There is also a certain number of horse from . . . . . .

Antwerp, 27th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 22nd October.*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 232, St. Mark's Library.

761. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the preceding morning was informed by the Emperor that the Duke of Bourbon had joined the 10,000 lansquenets and 500 Burgundian spears, destined for the attack on France. The Emperor added, "To tell you the truth, having had no news of this Duke of Bourbon, I was very much afraid lest some misfortune might have befallen him. Our league must now prepare both for defence and offence, and pluck this thorn from our foot."

It is not known in what fashion the Duke joined these troops. Some say that he brought about 50 spears with him, others more; many that he went quite alone, and that the King of France has imprisoned several gentlemen, his accomplices in this negotiation, which, as told him (Contarini) by the English ambassadors [Sampson and Jerningham], was commenced upwards of a year and a half ago.*

It is also reported that Mons. de la Trimouille, with 300 spears has been routed by the English. If this be true, the affairs of France are then considered by the Imperialists to be in a very sorry plight.

Logroño, 29th September 1523.

[*Italian*, 1¼ *page.*]

Sept. 30.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. pp. 37, 38.

762. MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Gives an account of the preparations for the conclave.

Announces the arrival of the English ambassador, Dom. Richard Pace, with whom he has conversed. Pace complains that the Signory has not done, and does not do, what they are bound for the Milanese, and that it would have been better had the agreement not taken place, as the Emperor would have made greater provision.

Rome, 29th and 30th September. *Registered by Sanuto, 6th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 2.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 52.

763. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Six thousand Spaniards made an assault upon Bayonne, and would have taken it had not Mons. de Lautrec arrived.

The English are under Boulogne.

Lyons, 1st and 2nd October. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th October.*

[*Italian.*]

* *i.e.* in the spring of 1522, when the Emperor was at Brussels, before he went to England.

1523. Oct. 5. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 66.

764. Antonio Surian, late Ambassador in England, to the Signory.

Having received the Signory's permission to return home, went to the King of England and the Cardinal on 9th September, and took leave of them. On the 14th crossed over to Calais, leaving the secretary [Lodovico Spinelli] in England to obtain certain letters from the King. On the 22nd the secretary in like manner, having obtained leave, quitted London. They have both arrived at Mechlin, and will visit Madame Margaret. The English troops have crossed over hither (*pasate di qua*).

Mechlin, in Flanders, 5th Oct. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th Oct.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. pp. 86, 87.

765. Letter from Rome.

The Duke of Sessa told the Venetian ambassador that the [Arch]bishop of Bari had been sent by the King of France to Spain to negotiate an agreement. First of all, the King of France is willing to give his daughter for wife to the Emperor, with the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples for dower. He refers his dispute with the King of England for arbitration to the Emperor. Should the Emperor not choose to make the proposed marriage, the King of France consents to absolve him from the payment of the tribute for the kingdom of Naples, and to renounce his rights to the duchy of Milan.

The Duke of Sessa said the Emperor would not accept any of these proposals (*prestidi*).

Rome, 14th October. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th October.*

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 19. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 234, St. Mark's Library.

766. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

On the 9th arrived at Pamplona with the Chancellor; the Emperor made his entry on the 12th. On Saturday the 10th news arrived of the death of Pope Adrian VI., of the descent of the French army into Italy, and of the retreat beyond the Ticino of Prospero Colonna.

Pamplona, 19th October 1523.

[*Italian, 4 pages.*]

Oct. 20. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 236, St. Mark's Library.

767. The Same to the Same.

Was told by the Chancellor that the Archbishop of Bari* proposed in the name of the King of France, that peace should be made by the Emperor's surrendering the Milanese and Tournai, France restoring Fonterabia, and matters being placed on the same footing as before the war. Moreover, the treaty of Noyon to take effect by the marriage of the Emperor to the daughter of the King of France. Should this form of peace not please the Emperor, the King of France is willing to stipulate a truce, each party

* The Archbishop of Bari (a Spaniard in the service of Adrian VI.) arrived at Pamplona from Lyons on the 16th October, as stated in letter no. 234.

1523.

retaining what they hold on the day of signature, by which time the King of France expects to have recovered well nigh the whole of the duchy of Milan.

The Chancellor added that the object of the French is to commence a negotiation, and thus to render the King of England and the Republic of Venice suspicious; but that their artful devices are well known to the Emperor.

Pamplona, 20th October 1523.

[*Italian*, 1 *page.*]

Nov. 7. **768.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 238, St. Mark's Library.

With regard to the peace which the Archbishop of Bari is negotiating, the Emperor has not yet given him any reply whatever, but has forwarded the proposal made by the King of France to England.

Understands that the King of France makes no mention of exchanging Tournai for Fonterabia, and on the contrary says he is willing to pay the King of England the pension for Tournai, although it be not restored to him.

Pamplona, 7th November 1523.

[*Italian, 5 pages.*]

Nov. 9. **769.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 192.

The Imperial army is prospering, and the English have taken certain places in France called Monon (*sic*), &c. [Montreuil, Dourlens, Montdidier ?]

Lyons, 9th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 13. **770.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 161.

The English in Scotland having captured a certain place, and made some prisoners, the Duke of Albany attacked them, recovered the prisoners, and drove the English back.

Lyons, 12th and 13th Nov. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th Nov.*

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17. **771.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 241, St. Mark's Library.

Yesterday the Archbishop of Bari sent one of his secretaries to France with the Emperor's reply to the proposals for peace. The Chancellor told him that this reply was (to use his own term) a rigmarole (*una longola*); purporting that the Emperor, being leagued with the King of England, could stipulate neither peace or truce without his knowledge and consent, and, having written to him, awaited an answer.

Nothing is known of what the English are doing in France, nor yet of the Duke of Bourbon and the army in Burgundy.

Pamplona, 17th November 1523.

[*Italian*, 1¾ *page.*]

1523.
Nov. 21. **772.** RETURN of SURIAN from ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 151. This evening Antonio Surian, who was ambassador in England during four years and eight months, arrived here. He came through Germany and by Trent and Feltre to Treviso, and thence by land to Venice.

He was elected State Attorney (*avogador di comun*), and will take the place of Piero Contarini, whose term of service expires on the 3rd of January.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 23. **773.** RETURN of SURIAN.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 154. On the morning of the 23rd Antonio Surian, who had been ambassador in England, went into the College dressed in crimson velvet with a raised pile and a hood of cloth of gold. He was accompanied by many noblemen, among whom was I (Marin Sanuto).* Surian walks lame; he got the gout on this legation. He entered the College hall alone with Lodovico Spinelli, because the present Doge does not choose more than three persons to accompany those who come from abroad, as of yore. He made but a brief statement, because he will deliver his report in the Senate.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24. **774.** SURIAN'S REPORT.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 159. Summary of the report made in the Senate on the 24th of November 1523, by Antonio Surian, late ambassador to England.

The King of England advances slowly (*avia pocho*), and had not the Signory ratified the agreement with the Emperor he, the King, would have made terms with France.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 24. **775.** HENRY VIII.'S PRESENT to SURIAN.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 52. Motion made in the Senate, after hearing the report of the noble Antonio Surian, LL.D. and knight, lately returned from his embassy to England, which long and laborious mission was executed by him with very great application, toil, and cost, so as to deserve acknowledgment from the Signory.

Put to the ballot—that he receive as a gift the 500 crowns presented to him by the Most Serene King of England.

Ayes	115, 119	Undecided.
Noes	80	
Neutrals	3	

Amendment—that of the 500 crowns he be given but 300.

Ayes, 30. Noes, 43. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian, 6 lines.*]

Nov. 25. **776.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 241, St. Mark's Library. Nothing whatever is known of the election of the Pope,† nor yet of the movements of the armies in Lombardy.

Letters were received yesterday from England, dated 4th October,

* "Tra li qual Io vi fui."

† Giulio de' Medici was elected Pope, with the title of Clement VII., on the 19th of November 1523, and crowned on the 25th.

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a very stale date. They contain nothing of importance save the announcement of immense preparations making by the Scots. The State will have received much fresher advices from those parts.

Pamplona, 25th November 1523.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

Nov. 29. **777.** LETTER from INSPRUCK.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 183.

The Duke of Bourbon departs hence for Italy tomorrow. He will then go to Spain to espouse the Emperor's sister, and on his arrival there you will salute him as future King of France. I visited him today, and he greeted me lovingly. He is in great spirits, and considers the total ruin of the King of France quite certain by reason of a variety of schemes at which he hints without manifesting them.

It is true that at the critical moment, had these German captains in Burgundy not betrayed and deserted him immediately after being well paid, he tells me he should now be Lord of France in the Emperor's name, with the English army in Paris; "*sed quod differtur non aufertur.*"

By the last letters the English army was three short leagues from Paris, and the French hope rested on 6,000 Switzers, who had not yet left their own homes, so that "the Lord Captain of Justice" will infallibly at length witness the ruin of France, about which I have written so many letters.

Inspruck, 29th November. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. [4 ?] **778.** MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 185.

The Pope is sending Dom. Marchio . . . . . *as Nuncio to England.

Rome, ———. *Registered by Sanuto, 8th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 5. **779.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 242, St. Mark's Library.

On the 1st of December news was received here of the election of Clement VII.

Pamplona, 5th December 1523.

[*Italian*, 7 *pages.*]

Dec. 5. **780.** The SAME to the COUNCIL of TEN.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 243, St. Mark's Library.

Contradicts the account given by the Venetian ambassador in France of the proposals made to the Emperor by King Francis. Asserts that peace was proposed through the restitution of Milan, and with the pension of 100,000 ducats for the kingdom of Naples, and by means of the marriage of the French Princess to the Emperor, the supremacy of King Francis being acknowledged

* "Melchior, the Pope's messenger," is mentioned in a letter of Wolsey's, dated December 1523. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. iii., no. 3659.) Qu., Melchior Langus, or Longhio, who was in England on 21st April 1524. (See his letter of that date, no. 821, *post.*)

1523. in Flanders, though the latter consented to pay the King of England the pension for Tournai, and yet made no demand for the surrender of that place; neither did he say that he would restore Fonterabia. Similar information was imparted to him by the English ambassador [Sampson or Jerningham], to whom all the articles were shown, the copy being despatched to England instantly. Elicited this also from the Archbishop of Bari, and understood from him in general terms that the reply was that "rigmarole" to which he alluded in his letter of the 17th.

Pamplona, 5th December 1523.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page.*]

Dec. 11. **781.** MARCO FOSCARI to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 195. The Pope has elected nine cardinals, three for the affairs of Martin Luther, namely, Volterra, Ancona, and Cornaro; for Turkish affairs, Farnese, Campeggio, and Cibo; and for those of the Duke of Ferrara, Fiesco, Santiquattro, and Cesis; also one for the affairs of Denmark, namely, the Cardinal de Montibus.

Rome, 11th December. *Registered by Sanuto on the 16th.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 13. **782.** LETTER from BERGAMO.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 195. News had been received at Milan, by letters dated the 14th of November, that the English army in France, besides taking Li Antere (*sic*), Corbie, and Bray, had also stormed and captured Croiers (*sic*) and Montdidier, killing 2,000 French infantry. Amongst the dead were Mons. de Neufville and his eldest son and two other personages of account.

A courier from the King of England had reached the Duke of Suffolk, desiring him to continue the war against France during the whole of the month, and the English were ravaging the territory greatly.

Bergamo, 13th December. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th December.*

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14. **783.** HENRY VIII.'S PRESENT to SURIAN.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 193. Motion made in the Senate by the Councillors, Chiefs of the Forty, and the Sages.

Antonio Surian having been ambassador from the Signory in England during five years, and at great expense,—Put to the ballot therefore, that of the 500 crowns given to him by the King 300 be assigned him as recompense.

Balloted twice and lost.

First ballot:—

Ayes, 112. Noes, 74. Neutrals, 2.

Second ballot:—

Ayes, 112. Noes, 74. Neutrals, 2.

Nothing carried, the majority required being four-fifths.

[*Italian.*]

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Dec. 14. **784.** HENRY VIII.'S PRESENT to SURIAN.

Deliberazioni Senato Secreta, v. l. p. 53, tergo.

Motion made in the Senate.

On the return of Antonio Surian from his protracted and very laborious embassy to England, he, according to the law, presented to the "*Procuratia*" of St. Mark the 500 "crowns of the King" (*scudi de Re*), which make 461 "crowns of the sun" (*corone dal sol*) 3 livres and 10 pence (*soldi*), received from his Majesty.

As well known to the Senate, this nobleman has incurred great expense for the honour of the State, both by crossing the Channel twice and returning, first with the King and then with the Cardinal, besides costs on several other occasions, so that he is debtor to the agents of the faithful citizen Nicolò Duodo for 300 ducats.

Moreover, when returning from his embassy to Hungary he was made prisoner, and although he presented to the "*Procuratia*" of St. Mark the present given to him by the King, he received no indemnity.

As it well becomes the clemency of the Signory to take pity on those who, regardless of all toil, peril, and expense, attend diligently and laudably to the service of the State,—Put to the ballot, that in compensation for so much cost and toil incurred by our said nobleman, there be paid to the aforesaid Nicolò Duodo the debt of 300 ducats due to him out of the above-written 461 crowns, 3 livres, and 10 pence presented by Surian to the "*Procuratia*."

Ayes	-	112, 112	Undecided.
Noes	-	73, 74	
Neutrals	-	3, 2	

[*Italian*, 17 *lines*.]

Dec. 14. **785.** GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 215.

King Francis is sending the secretary of the Archbishop of Bari to the Pope, to say he had been to the Emperor at Pamplona. The King is much irritated against the Pope, the Signory, and the King of England.

Lyons, 14th Dec. 1523. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st Jan.* 1524.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 16. **786.** RUMOURED DEATH of HENRY VIII.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 194.

Statement made in the College by the French ambassador, Dom. Ambrogio of Florence, on the authority of letters received by him from St. Quentin, dated 29th of November.

The Duke of Albany, regent of Scotland, had given a great rout to the English.

The English army in France, commanded by the Duke of Suffolk, had received letters from the deputies of the city of London called "*the three Estates*," desiring them to return immediately to England. The cause of this was unknown. Some said there was an insurrection in the island against the present King; others declared that he was dead. The ambassador also gave news of Martin Luther.

[*Italian*.]

1523.
Dec. 27. **787.** MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 215. The secretary of the [Arch]bishop of Bari ,arrived in Rome from France, told him the English had gone into quarters on account of the cold, and that the Imperial troops had crossed the Pyrenees.

Rome, 27th Dec. 1523. *Registered by Sanuto, 1st Jan.* 1524.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28. **788.** VINCENZO GUIDOTO to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 223. The Lutheran doctrine seems to gain ground, not only in Germany, but also in those places adjoining belonging to the King of Hungary, and latterly in Silesia, where the natives expelled a Catholic provost, and appointed one of the sect in his stead. They will no longer tolerate mendicant friars, or those of other orders, and adhere to the Lutheran creed. The King [of Hungary], together with his Council, sent therefore yesterday for the Legate,* requesting him to provide against this. The Legate replied that he would do so if his Majesty would not fail to lend him the secular arm; and the King rejoined that in two days he would make such provision as to convince his right reverend lordship that he, the King, and his entire realm are excellent Christians and most obsequious towards the Holy Apostolic see.

Dated 28th Dec. 1523. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th Jan.* 1524.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31. **789.** MARCO FOSCARI to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 223. The Pope has the affairs of Martin Luther much at heart, and has written to Germany.

Rome, 30th and 31st Dec. 1523. *Registered by Sanuto, 7th Jan.* 1524.

[*Italian.*]

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1524.
Jan. 2. **790.** VINCENZO GUIDOTO, Venetian Secretary in Hungary, to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 253. Martin Luther is gone to the Diet at Nuremberg without further safeconduct, together with the Duke of Saxony. Having very many followers, he is therefore not afraid; and it seems that many preachers preach what he has written.

The Legate [Cardinal of St. Sixtus] has been unable to obtain the restoration of that bishop in Silesia who was deposed and a Lutheran appointed in his stead, as the King and Queen [of Bohemia] favour the Lutherans.

Possonia, 2nd, 7th, and 11th [January]. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd January.*

[*Italian.*]

* Tomaso de Vio, Caitano, General of the Dominicans, Priest, Cardinal of S. Sixtus. See Report of Hungary by the Venetian Secretary, Francesco Massario, 5 October 1523, p. 18.

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Jan. 2. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 255.

791. VINCENZO GUIDOTO, Venetian Secretary in Hungary, to the STATE.

Concerning the innovation that took place lately in Silesia. The Silesians removed the Christian bishop, and put in his stead a Lutheran. Nothing has been done as yet in this matter, nor do they talk of any further provision, unless it be to try and make some amicable adjustment to the satisfaction of the Silesians, who all side with the Lutherans (*quali tutti dicono con Luteriani*); and therefore, should further steps be taken, it is feared some tumult may take place to the detriment of this King of Hungary, although it is said here very publicly, even by the preachers in the pulpits, that in the Courts of the King and Queen there are as many Lutherans as there are in Germany, which is as full of them as possible. It is, moreover, said that they are favoured and encouraged (*nutriti*) by their Hungarian Majesties.

Advices have been received here purporting that Martin Luther and the Duke of Saxony have gone to the Diet of Nuremberg without a safeconduct, to refute the charges brought against them, though it is supposed that the Duke brought Luther in order to secure his own duchy, of which, it was whispered, that the Archduke intended to deprive him on account of the favour shown by him to said Luther.

Buda, 2nd January. *Registered by Sanuto on the 24th.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 5. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 249, St. Mark's Library.

792. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Emperor departed hence on the 2nd, and went to Vittoria.

On the 30th ultimo the secretary of the Archbishop of Bari returned to France. Concerning this, made inquiries of the Chancellor, who said that the Emperor always had been ready for peace, and would continue so, but that he was allied with the King of England, without whom he could speak of neither peace nor truce; and then again, that having been the very great friend of the Pope when merely cardinal, still more, now that he had assumed the papal tiara, it would be impossible for him, the Emperor, to do or say anything without his knowledge.

Pamplona, 5th January 1524.

[*Italian,* 1½ *page.*]

Jan. 7. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 247.

793. GIOVANNI BADOER to the SIGNORY.

It is reported here that the Imperial army has taken Salvatierra, Monleon, and Agramonte, that the King of England has made a three years' truce with the Scots, and that the Duke of Albany is to cross over to France with a Scottish force in aid of the King of France.

Lyons, 2nd and 7th January. *Registered by Sanuto on the 21st.*

[*Italian.*]

1524.
Jan. 8. **794.** MARCO FOSCARI to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 231. The Pope chooses by all means to expel the French from Italy, and says that the King cannot sustain such great expense. His Holiness is sending Cardinal Campeggio to the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, concerning the affairs of Martin Luther.

Rome, 6–8 January. *Registered by Sanuto on the* 14*th.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9. **795.** HIERONIMO LIPPOMANO to ———.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 231. A congregation has been held today. The vice-chancery was given to Cardinal Colonna, the legation of Bologna to Cardinal Cibo. Cardinal Campeggio was appointed legate in Germany for the Lutheran affairs; he stipulated three conditions, viz., 2,000 ducats before his departure, and that, should he die on this legation, the Pope is to give the bishopric of Bologna to his son, and to get a husband for one of his daughters, both these children being illegitimate.*

Rome, 9th January. *Registered by Sanuto on the* 14*th.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 9. **796.** MARIA DA POZO to FRANCESCO SPINELLI.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 231. Yesterday in Consistory Cardinal Campeggio was appointed legate in Germany to go to the Diet at Nuremberg and provide for the affairs of Martin Luther, who is making great progress, according to the statement of the Duke of Sessa's brother, lately returned from those parts. Unless steps be taken the danger is very great, and with difficulty can provision be made, by reason of the great favour he (Luther) enjoys there. It is said the Pope will make him cardinal to quiet him, provided he choose to accept the grade. These Lutheran affairs harass the Pope. Believes this will be the deluge of the Church, but trusts God will not permit such ruin of it and of the great prelates. Those in authority at Rome do not fail to take every precaution.

Rome, 9th January. *Registered by Sanuto on the* 14*th.*

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19. **797.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 250, St. Mark's Library. Arrived at Vittoria from Pamplona on the 11th.

Scarcity of provisions in the Emperor's camp under Fonterabia, but some grain vessels had arrived at St. Sebastian's from Seville, and seven ships from England, freighted in like manner.

A few days ago letters arrived at Vittoria from England, dated the 9th of December, and, from what the English ambassadors [Sampson and Jerningham] tell him, they purport that the Scots having mustered a very powerful army, and apparently intending to advance, the English, also in great force, moved forward to give battle, whereupon the Scots halted and the English did the like.

The Emperor has at length determined to grant Malta and Tripoli to the Order of Rhodes, renouncing the conditions exacted by him at first, to the effect that the French were not to exercise the juris-

* "Et che morendo lui in ditta legation, el Papa dagi lo Episcopato di Bologna a suo fiol, et maritar una sua fiola, *tutti do naturali.*"

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diction enjoyed by them heretofore at Rhodes; a thing which would have put the whole Order in confusion. The reply of the Grand Master and the knights is expected. What the Emperor requires of the Order is, that they should swear fealty to him, and add two votes to the Council, one for Naples and the other for Spain.

Vittoria, 19th January 1524.

[*Italian*, 2½ *pages.*]

Jan. 31. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 305.

798. Vincenzo Guidoto, Venetian Secretary in Hungary, to the State.

That bishop in Silesia having been expelled, and another of the Lutheran sect appointed in his stead, the King and his council, to quiet the people there, who are for the most part Lutherans, have sent thither two ambassadors, namely, the Marquis of Brandenburg and D. Filippo More, bishop of five churches; the reason being that the King wants assistance from Silesia against the Turks.

Has been told by the Rev. —— that the Diet of Nuremberg would be very important both by reason of the princes assembled there and the matters for discussion, namely, 1st, the reform of the clergy, including the affairs of Martin Luther; 2nd, the provision to be made against the Infidels; 3rd, decision about the large firms, such as the Fuggers and others, which should be abolished, as they are said to be tyrannical, and in a manner so constituted that they alone monopolise all business and profit.

Possonia, 31st January. *Registered by Sanuto, 20th February.*

[*Extract. Italian.*]

Feb. 1. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 251, St. Mark's Library.

799. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Has been told by Dom. Gabriel da Martinengo, that besides the other demands made by the Emperor of the Order of Rhodes for the grant of Malta and Tripoli, he requires the knights to take upon themselves the defence of Tripoli; a responsibility which Martinengo expects the Order to ponder and hold in great account. The Emperor also insists on their paying the fourth of the revenues of the priories and commanderies in his dominions, according to the concession made to him by Pope Adrian of all the ecclesiastical benefices in his realms. The knights apologize for not acceding to this demand, alleging the expenses incurred by them in the present war against the Turks, besides what they will have to disburse before they can domicile themselves in safety; but they would come to some compromise on this point, were the proposal to defend Tripoli cancelled.

The Queen Germaine, now vice Queen of Valencia, has caused the arrest in that city of some 150 persons who were members of the Germanada.

Vittoria, 1st February 1524.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages.*]

Feb. 1. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 271.

800. Marco Foscari to the Signory.

The Pope commended the passage of the Adda by the Signory's troops. The French ambassador, Mons. de St. Marceau, has arrived at Rome. He is said to be the bearer of great offers from the King, in order to bring the Pope over to his side.

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The English ambassador [Clerk] told the Pope that his King's troops had retired because of the winter season, but would return. The Spaniards had retreated from Salvatierra and marched upon Bayonne. St. Marceau wanted to lodge in the Pope's palace, and . . . . . told the Pope it was unfitting, and would render the Emperor suspicious; but that on the arrival of Mons. de Beaurain, the Imperial ambassador, they might both lodge there.

The Pope told St. Marceau not to suppose that France was to have the Milanese; and the Archbishop of Capua [Schomberg] informed him (Foscari) that the affairs between the Pope and Ferrara would be arranged. The Ferrarese ambassador, Antonio de' Costabeli, says that his Duke will obtain Modena for a sum of money; which city the Emperor pawned to the Pope, to whom it seems that the King of France is willing to give Parma, Piacenza, Pavia, and Cremona.

Rome, 31st Jan. and 1st Feb. *Registered by Sanuto, 5th Feb.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3. **801.** News from England.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 267.

Arrival in Venice from England, by land, of Giovanni Capello, who had been a merchant there. Says he saw all the English troops disembark on the island [from France]. He stated that a triennial truce had been made with Scotland.

Note by Sanuto.—These news are bad, as the French will increase their forces in Italy.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8. **802.** Marco Foscari to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 288.

The Duke of Sessa and other Imperialists suspect the Pope of joining the French. It is said at Rome that the Venetians prevented the lansquenets from crossing the Adda. Having no news from the Signory, knows not what reply to make. The Pope, however, is taking the good road (*andava a bon camin*). He and the English ambassador Pace were pleased with the decree of the Senate ordering the troops to cross, and the Pope refuses to join the league for expelling the French from Italy, and chooses to have Ferrara; and it is his firm opinion that the French must quit Italy (*sic*).

Rome, 5th and 8th February. *Registered by Sanuto on the 12th.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 10. **803.** The Switzers.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 277.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages for a letter to the three Leagues of the Switzers, apologizing for the Signory's inability to grant their request that Venetian troops might not be sent in aid of Milan, as the State is leagued with the Emperor, and is exhorted thus to do by the Pope and the King of England; and reminding them of the love borne towards their communities by the Republic. And be it carried forthwith to give them immediately 100 golden Rhenish guilders.

Ayes, 139. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian.*]

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Feb. 13. **804.** MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxv. p. 298.

The Pope, having been so much urged by the Imperialists, has sent an additional 30,000 ducats to Milan for payment of the troops. He praises the Signory much for the assistance given, and the Imperialists are satisfied with the Venetian army.

Letters have been received at Rome from England. In the spring the King will muster a large army for the invasion of France. St. Marceau and Carpi, the French ambassadors, have been to the Pope, saying they had a general mandate from the King of France to do everything. Nothing will be accomplished. The Pope told them he meant to be neutral. The English ambassador, Pace, has also a mandate from his King, and the Pope hopes that the truce will be stipulated.

Rome, 11–13 February. *Registered by Sanuto on the* 17*th.*

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 23. **805.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 253, St. Mark's Library.

Announces the arrival of an agent from the Duke of Bourbon with letters for the Emperor, whom he advises to request the King of England to repeat his attack on France, as the King would do whatever the Emperor wished; but that he, the Emperor, on his part must not fail to prosecute the war for the sake of yet more encouraging the King, and giving support to the affairs of Italy.

Several cabinet councils have been held lately in the presence of the two Portuguese ambassadors, for the discussion of the dispute between the Emperor and the King of Portugal concerning the Spice Islands, discovered by that Spanish ship ["the Victory"] which returned last year.* It was determined to send six individuals on behalf of either sovereign to Badajoz, namely, three doctors and three others, that they may see to whom the islands belong. It is considered certain that they will come to no decision.

The King of Portugal does not cease tempting the Emperor with a good sum of money to cede this navigation to him; but the Imperial ministers are so impressed with the anticipated profits that, from what the Chancellor says, their demands have no limits.

Vittoria, 23rd February 1524.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

Feb. 28. **806.** The SAME to the SAME.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 254, St. Mark's Library.

Last night the Emperor received a letter from the Constable of Castile, announcing the surrender of Fonterabia. The garrison, in number 1,500, was allowed to depart with arms and baggage, leaving all the artillery and other ammunition, said to be in great quantity.

Vittoria, 28th February 1524.

[*Italian,* ½ *page.*]

March 6. **807.** VINCENZO GUIDOTO, Venetian Secretary in Hungary, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 81.

The bishop of five churches and the Chancellor of Bohemia, together with the Marquis of Brandenburg, have returned from Silesia, whither they went as ambassadors from the King to expel

* "The Victory" arrived at San Lucar on the 7th September 1522. (*See* Robertson.)

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the Lutheran sects. They did as desired; and the people there are content to assist the King. It seems that the priests have married.

Ofen, 6th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March [6]. **808.** MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. pp. 25, 26.

The Pope wishes peace or truce to be made between the Emperor, France, and the Signory; and it seems that the French are content. The Imperialists have written to Spain, and also to England, by way of France.

Rome, ———. *Registered by Sanuto, 9th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 10. **809.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 46.

The Pope was glad to hear of the capture of Garlasco by the Signory's commander-in-chief; and again urges the State to lend money, and to obtain Cremona, being already in possession of the castle. He added that it bordered on the territories of Brescia and Crema, and had belonged to Venice of yore. With regard to the truce, the Pope said he did not see how it could be stipulated. He has proposed the matter in consistory, and will write briefs all over the world, announcing this his good will; having also sent the Archbishop of Capua to the Emperor in Spain, for the same purpose.

Richard Pace, the English ambassador, is on the point of departure from Rome for England, and will pass through the camp. Pace when taking leave of him (Foscari) said, "Had Pope Julius chosen, he could have expelled the French from Italy, and subsequently steps might have been taken for the expulsion of the Spaniards likewise; thus should the Signory do."*

Replied that the Signory was doing her utmost to gratify and aid the Emperor, &c.

Rome, 9th and 10th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 16th March.*

[*Italian.*]

March 14. **810.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 48.

Details his conversations with the Pope concerning the affairs of Lombardy.

The Pope said the Signory would do well to purchase Cremona; she should obtain her towns, and aid the Duke of Milan to keep possession of his duchy. He added, "Cremona is really a fine jewel."

Report in Rome that the Duke of Milan, or rather the Spaniards, intend to sell Sarzana (now held by the Genoese) to the Florentines, for the purpose of raising money.

* This project of the English cabinet, announced by Pace to Foscari at Rome, in March 1524, was again resumed in 1606, at Madrid, as seen by a conversation between Sir Charles Cornwallis and the Venetian ambassador, Francesco Priuli. A despatch, dated Madrid 18 January 1607 (which will be duly calendared), shows that James I., to accomplish this scheme, purposed marrying the Princess Elizabeth to the eldest son of the Duke of Savoy.

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The Archbishop of Capua [Nicholas Schomberg] has departed hence for Spain, by way of France, and is to cross to England. He will negotiate truce or peace between the belligerent powers.

The Pope has sent an ambassador to Hungary to encourage the King.

An ambassador has come to the Pope from the Jews in India, offering him 300,000 combatants against the Turk, and asking for artillery.

Rome, 13th and 14th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th March.* [*Italian.*]

March 23. **811.** MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 77.

It is reported by way of Lyons that the Imperial army had taken Fonterabia. Also that the King of England had sent a messenger to the Emperor to tell him he would send troops across (*di qua*), but that he, the Emperor, was not to fail [in his promises] as he did last year.

Details threats of the French ambassadors (namely, the Lord Alberto of Carpi and Mons. de St. Marceau) against the Spaniards.

The Archbishop of Capua [Nicholas Schomberg], who departed on the 11th, rode post, and on the 16th arrived at Genoa. He was to embark there and go through Provence to Blois, where the King of France lay sick of the French disease.

The Pope is sending money into the Spanish camp.

The sister of the Cardinal Farnese, Madame Julia, heretofore the favorite of Pope Alexander, has died. The plague continues here, the deaths averaging from four to five per diem. The Pope is taking every precaution, and has ceased to give audience.

Rome, 22nd and 23rd March. *Registered by Sanuto on the 27th.* [*Italian.*]

March 24. **812.** The PROVEDITOR PESARO to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 78.

Has conversed with the Duke of Bourbon, who is very joyful, and says he will by no means give battle, as they are sure to conquer without risking an engagement.

Has also heard through spies that the French are fortifying Vigevano, and will decamp in two days, because the Admiral [Bonnivet] has received letters from the King desiring him to send all the Italian infantry and men-at-arms to France, to resist the English invasion. The Duke of Bourbon declares that France is not expecting any succour. The Spaniards fare badly without money. Don Morone urges them to fight a pitched battle, but both the Viceroy and the Duke of Bourbon are averse to this.

From the camp at Ottobiano (*sic*), 24th March. *Registered by Sanuto on the 28th.*

[*Italian.*]

March 29. **813.** PAOLO ZIANI, a Franciscan Friar, to the Franciscan FRANCESCO MAREM, Vicar of the Province of St. Antonio, Professor of Theology.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. pp. 194, 195.

We [*i.e.*, the writer and the Legate Campeggio] arrived at Nuremberg on the Wednesday in Passion week. The Archduke

524 [Ferdinand] is at a monastery five leagues distant for his devotions. The Duke of Saxony, having heard of the coming of the Legate Campeggio to oppose the Lutheran opinion, departed in great wrath; and the Duke of Bavaria, a very Catholic person, on entering Nuremberg after our arrival, and finding it so Lutheran, went away in extreme anger, praising God for his escape from heretics.

In these parts the sincere faith of Christ is utterly cancelled; no respect is paid either to the Virgin Mary or the saints. On the contrary, it is said that those who employ their aid sin mortally. They deride the Papal rites, and call the relics of the saints bones of those who have been hanged. In Lent they eat meat openly, saying they do not consider it prohibited. Confession is neglected, as they say it should be made to God, and that auricular confession is a buffoonery. They generally communicate under both forms. They make a laughing-stock of the Pope and cardinals, and other ambassadorial ecclesiastics, by means of paintings and other caricatures. In short, they consider Martin their illuminator, and that until now they have been in darkness, and the indulgences are held by them like bread sold in the market place. In proof of all this, the Legate [Campeggio], to avoid scorn, did not enter Nuremberg as Legate *ut moris est*, neither did he give the blessing and absolution, but came in like a mere horseman, though he was accompanied by a most noble escort of all the Princes and part of the nobility, who (with the exception of the Duke of Saxony and Palatine) are sincere Christians. Some of the noblemen and the mass of merchants are all tainted, nay obstinate and unconvertible, so that at present neither the Legate's authority nor the will of the Princes, nor even the ability and erudition of my master, can stem so strong a current.

Martin is not at Nuremberg, nor will he make his appearance there, but, unless the Almighty stretch forth his arm, it will doubtless come to pass that as the Princes and part of the nobility remain staunch Catholics, whilst the people persist in their errors, they will some day cut each other to pieces. The Legate will remain at Nuremberg until October, perhaps to hold another diet in Germany, *cum dieta dietam sub invocat;* but in this matter diets profit little, because the free towns are really not subject to any one, so they cannot be curbed, and they are the abettors of Lutheranism, especially Nuremberg and Augsburg, the asylums of all converts.* In the other towns belonging to the Princes less open confession is made, but in short all are Lutherans, publicly or secretly.

Nuremberg, 29th March. *Registered by Sanuto, 30th April.*

[*Italian.*]

April 1. **814.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 257, St. Mark's Library.

The English ambassador, that gentleman of the King's chamber [Sir Richard Jernyngham] who came to Spain last summer to encourage the attack on France, perceiving that the army is now disbanded, took leave, and departed on the Wednesday in Passion

* "Perchè le terre franche *nulli subiciuntur* realiter, perhò non possano esser rafrenate, et quelle sono li fautori de tale opinione."

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week. Visited him on that very morning, and is of opinion that he went away dissatisfied with the Spanish ministry.

The churchman [Richard Sampson] his predecessor remains, and being present at the interview, expressed himself as follows:— "Would that I likewise were returning, for many reasons; including this one, that were I to remain here for many and many a day, I know not what service I could render my King, where there is nothing to be got;" implying that the Spanish realms are not so powerful as is supposed.

Burgos, 1st April, 1524.

[*Italian, 3 pages.*]

April 2. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 258, St. Mark's Library.

815. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

The Papal envoy, Dom. Bernardin da la Barba, besides acquainting the Emperor with the election of Clement VII., apologized for the Pope's non-compliance with three demands made of him by the Emperor and the King of England.

(1.) That his Holiness, like Pope Adrian, should declare himself a party to the league.

(2.) That he should contribute his share of the expenses.

(3.) That he should proceed against France by means of ecclesiastical censures.

The Pope rejected these demands for just reasons, inasmuch as with regard to declaring himself a party to the league like Pope Adrian, it was unnecessary, because, having succeeded to the popedom, and not making any declaration to the contrary, he was understood to be in the league. He added moreover that any such declaration would be unfitting, because he wished to make some adjustment between the Christian powers, and it would ill become him so to do if concerned in the matter.

With regard to contributing to the expenses, he excused himself because he had no money; and if he had any he should not think it right to postpone the defence of Christendom against the Turk for a war against France.

Touching the third demand about the censures, he said it did not appear to him there was any just cause for attacking the French with such weapons.

The Emperor and his ministers pretend to be satisfied with these apologies, but it has been said by them that his Holiness was a better Cardinal than Pope (*che sua Santità era meglior Cardinal che Pontefice*).

Burgos, 2nd April 1524.

[*Italian, 2 pages.*]

April [12]. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 164.

816. The SECRETARY of the BISHOP OF MANTUA to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

The Lutheran sect is making great progress, and at Nuremberg in two churches there are two preachers who preach and follow the doctrine of Luther. Also at Nuremberg they confess and communicate *sub utraque specie*, namely, with wine and the consecrated host.

Mantua 12th April. *Registered by Sanuto on the* 19*th.*

[*Italian.*]

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April 13.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 164.

817. The SECRETARY of the BISHOP OF TRENT to the ———.

Has received letters from Nuremberg, where the inhabitants communicate *sub utraque specie secundum legem maledictam Lutheranam.* It has, moreover, been ordered there, that for the future the relics of the saints are not to be exhibited publicly in the churches, but to be kept concealed; and all the images in the churches are to be destroyed.

Trent, 13th April. *Registered by Sanuto on the* 19*th.*

[*Italian.*]

April 15.
Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 161.

818. MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

The Pope has received letters from France from the Archbishop of Capua, announcing his departure for Spain. He would soon be with the Emperor, and on becoming acquainted with his will would go to England, so that he hoped the truce would be stipulated. Letters from Genoa, dated the 10th, announced the retreat of the French army upon Novara, and that the Venetian troops had done some damage to their rear guard.

From Germany it is reported that the Lutheran affairs are not favoured publicly, save by the Duke of Saxony.

The Lord Albert of Carpi [Pio Count of Carpi] told the Pope that the only way for him to maintain Italy is to give favour to the Signory, as the support of the Papal authority depends on the Venetians.

Rome, 14th and 15th April. *Registered by Sanuto on the* 18*th.*

[*Italian.*]

April 18.
Original Letter Book, Letter no. 261, St. Mark's Library.

819. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Arrival at Burgos, on the 14th, of Nicholas Schomberg, Archbishop of Capua, on a mission from the Pope.

On Sunday, the 17th, the Chancellor Gattinara and Mons. de la Roche went to the English ambassador, Sampson, and subsequently conferred with Schomberg during two hours.

Visited Schomberg on the morrow of his arrival, and, together with the other ambassadors, accompanied him on that day to his first audience of the Emperor.

From conversations with Schomberg himself, with the Chancellor, and with the Florentine ambassadors, understands that he, Schomberg, assured the Emperor that the Pope desired nothing but his, the Emperor's, exaltation, and the general welfare of Christendom and of Italy, and that having expelled the French thence, the Pope did not wish them to return; and to prevent such an attempt, suggested that a truce should be stipulated, as preliminary to peace. Schomberg alluded to the exhausted state of Italy, and to her inability to supply money for the war, whereas France was less at a loss for funds; and finally he left the Emperor to consider whether in Spain he could make sufficient provision to meet this expenditure. He also mentioned the peril to which Naples and Sicily were exposed from the Turks, from whom should any danger arise, the French would assume a much higher tone than some persons suppose.

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Such was the general proposal. With regard to details, Schomberg gave him (Contarini) to understand that the King of France would consent to the proposed suspension of hostilities "*stantibus rebus ut stant.*" Schomberg also mentioned that the King of France had not chosen to say anything about the Duke of Bourbon.

The Florentine ambassadors told him (Contarini) that Schomberg had made three proposals on behalf of the Duke of Milan, which were approved by the Pope. First, that the Emperor should give him the investiture of the duchy. Secondly, that the Emperor should provide him with a wife. Thirdly, that the Emperor should give such orders as might prevent him from being tyrannized over by the Spaniards in the Milanese.

One of the Florentine ambassadors also told him (Contarini) privately that the Queen of France was very ill, and that should anything befall her the two crowns might be reconciled by giving Eleanor Queen Dowager of Portugal, the Emperor's sister, for wife to the King of France. Answered that this was inexpedient for two reasons: first, because by a very stringent oath the Emperor had promised her to the Duke of Bourbon; and, secondly, because the Emperor would be apprehensive of causing suspicion to the King of England.

On the afternoon of the 17th, when discussing this negotiation together, the Chancellor Gattinara said to him (Contarini), "Here we can do nothing; I will go to Italy, to Rome, where the whole will be concluded, as the English ambassadors will be there with their commissions, and the representatives of the Duke of Bourbon, and all the rest. The Archbishop [Schomberg] will go to England, without whom we can neither do nor say anything."

Schomberg says he is endeavouring to acquaint himself thoroughly with the opinions of the sovereigns as to the existing difficulties, and to obtain them in writing, in order that they might hesitate to deny the assertion of a friar.

Burgos, 18th April 1524.

[*Italian*, 8 *pages.*]

April 21. Mantuan Archives.

820. Melchior Longhio to Federigo Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua.

By a letter of the Secretary Abbadino in the Marquis's name, learns the victory gained over the French by Paulo Lozasco.* Forwarded Abbadino's original letter to the Archbishop of Capua at the Imperial Court, for him to show it to the Emperor. Communicated it first of all to Cardinal Wolsey, the King being absent. Paid compliments in the Marquis's name to the Cardinal, requesting him to do the like by his Majesty. The Cardinal said that the King and himself class him, the Marquis, amongst the chief friends they have.

* This rout of the French by Paolo Luzasco is recorded both by Guicciardini and by Giovio.

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The only English intelligence he can give is, that he hopes an alliance will now be concluded between the Emperor and the King.

Letters from the Emperor to his ambassador here [Louis de Praet], received on the 18th instant, make three proposals, the King to accept the one that pleases him best:—

(1.) Should the King choose to invade France on his own account from this side, the Emperor is content to let him take the Imperial men-at-arms and horse into his own pay, supplying them with ammunition, provisions, pioneers, and other necessaries for the war, in such manner and at such price as if the Emperor were on the spot in person.

(2.) Should he choose to go in the direction of Bayonne, the Emperor will give 1,500 spears, 600 light horse, and 3,000 foot, all paid contributing, moreover, one-half of the cost of the artillery.

(3.) Should he choose to contribute [money] for half of the army of Italy, for the invasion of France, the Emperor is content to leave him* the whole of the Imperial army now there (in Italy), and should any Italian potentate be a contributor to it, the contribution to be paid proportionately. But above all, whichever of these proposals be accepted, the King of England to be in readiness here by the kalends of June.

These proposals have been made to Cardinal Wolsey, who does not seem to disapprove of them. Believes that the invasion of France by way of England will be adopted. It is supposed that in a week this decision will be formed.

London, 21st April 1524.

Signed: Melchior Longhio.

[*Original. Italian.*]

April 21.

821. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 262, St. Mark's Library.

In order to become acquainted with the negotiations of the Archbishop of Capua [Nicholas Schomberg] has sought his society assiduously during the last few days, and has also conferred with the Florentine ambassadors, and with the Chancellor Gattinara.

Was told by one of the Florentine ambassadors aside, that the Imperial ministers want Schomberg, who is going to England, to exhort the King to supply money for the Italian undertaking. To this Schomberg would not accede, saying he should thus further the continuance of the war, and not an adjustment as desired by the Pope. On the other hand, the Milanese ambassador informed him (Contarini) that Schomberg had told him he should endeavour to porcure this pecuniary subsidy from the King of England.

After this, in the course of conversation with the Chancellor, suggested that the King of England might cause more damage to the King of France at a cheaper rate, and injure him more, by aiding the Italian expedition, than by waging an expensive war in the enemy's own country; adding that he thought Schomberg would prove an excellent medium for impressing this on the King of England.

* In the original, "Cesare è contento *lasciarli* tutto il suo exercito Cesareo."

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The Chancellor replied, "My belief is that the Archbishop will attend solely to the adjustment."

As the Chancellor is frank in his communications, most especially when it suits his purpose, is therefore of opinion that the Milanese ambassador had deceived himself.

The English ambassador, Sampson, has told him that the King of England commenced the present war unwillingly, and would accept terms if he could do so with honour. Sampson added that it was not desirable that the period of the truce should exceed one year, because when the term is long each party expects to carry its point, and thus the adjustment is thwarted; whereas a year suffices for the arrangement of all difficulties when disputants are thus inclined.

He also said that "somebody here" (meaning the Chancellor) opposed Schomberg's negotiations. In reply to his (Contarini's) enquiries, Sampson told him the King of England would not send an army into France this summer, but that a fleet would put to sea, and make a descent on the French coast. Has heard on good authority that Jerningham, who departed last Passion week, was charged to inform his King that, should the Emperor wage war against France both in Spain and Italy, he could not provide for the maintenance of the 3,000 horses in Flanders, in which parts the King must continue the hostilities alone, and the Emperor would do the like in Spain and Italy; or, if the King of England chose to send troops to Bayonne, the Emperor offered to give him the 3,000 Germans now on the spot and his men-at-arms. Supposes therefore that Jerningham went away not very well satisfied, and that on this account his colleague, Sampson, now says that no army will be sent into France by England.

Burgos, 21st April 1524.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

April 24. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 264, St. Mark's Library.

822. Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Announces the intended departure of the Archbishop of Capua early on the following morning for France. He will confer there with the King, and then proceed to England.

Burgos, 24th April 1524.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

May 6. Original Letter Book, Letter no. 265, St. Mark's Library,

823. The Same to the Same.

Schomberg departed on the 25th, viâ France, for England. The Chancellor Gattinara has renounced his intention of going to Rome, and Mons. De la Roche, who will leave in ten days, has been appointed in his stead.

Burgos, 6th May 1524.

[*Italian*, 1½ *page*.]

May 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 242.

824. Marco Foscari to the Signory.

Letters have been received from the Archbishop of Capua in Spain, dated the 22nd of April. He details his conversations with the Emperor, who is content to make peace rather than a truce, and is

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sending the Lord Chancellor [Gattinara] to Rome as his ambassador with an ample mandate.

The Archbishop of Capua was on the point of departure from Spain for England, to induce the King to accede to this agreement. The Pope said that Cardinal Wolsey wanted to negotiate it over there, to give himself authority, but the Emperor chooses it to be treated in preference at Rome.

The Pope is very intent on making this agreement for the sake of uniting Christendom against the Turks, and he rejoices much at the retreat of the French beyond the Alps.* The affairs of Luther also trouble him vastly, and the congregation of cardinals appointed for this matter meets daily. The deaths from plague vary from 10 to 20 per diem, but occur amongst the populace. Provision is made, but uselessly; the disease is expected to cease when the weather becomes hot.

The Pope has told him that the Emperor is sending bills of exchange for 120,000 ducats, to defray expenses in Italy, and when affairs there are despatched, he has desired the Duke of Bourbon to cross over to France with his troops. The Spanish fleet is at Cartagena with 8,000 infantry, including 2,500 lansquenets, and is bound for Provence. The Duke of Bourbon has sent a messenger to the King of England, to know whether he will certainly invade France. The Pope wishes the Spanish infantry to quit Italy, even should he have to send them [at his own cost?] against the Moors;† and he wants to make an agreement with the Switzers and the Christian powers to contribute to it.

The Grand Master of Rhodes is at Rome, and the King of France has written to him not to accept Malta, because in an intercepted letter addressed to the Emperor by the Viceroy of Sicily the latter writes that to give Malta to the Knights of Rhodes would be advantageous for his Imperial Majesty.

Rome, 12–14 May. *Registered by Sanuto on the* 18*th.*

[*Italian.*]

May 18.

Original Letter Book, Letter No. 270, St. Mark's Library.

825. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

On the 17th, when attending mass with the Emperor, conversed with the English ambassador, Sampson, who said, "Truces are good for nothing, nor shall we on our part consent to one, but insist on war or peace; though my opinion is, that the war will be fiercer and on a greater scale."

On the 18th, in the course of conversation with him (Contarini), the Chancellor remarked, "There is no possibility of a truce; how could we abandon the Duke of Bourbon? Neither will the King of England consent to a truce. We have arranged for the passage of 500 spears, 1,500 light horse, and 20,000 foot from Italy into France under Bourbon's command. We shall have the 300,000 ducats, and then Mons. de Bourbon will receive 100,000 from the King of England, according to the promise given him. I fancy

* "Et è molto aliegro che Francesi vadino di la da monti.." Concerning the retreat of the French in April 1524, *see* Guicciardini, vol. iii. p. 429, *et seq.*

† "Che'l Papa desidera questi fanti Spagnoli escano de Italia, si ben li dovesse mandar contra Mori."

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they will march by way of Nice, in Provence; and we shall go into Aragon to hold the Cortes, and advance into Languedoc that way. Moreover, I believe that the King of England will also cross over to France in the other direction."

The Chancellor also said that the Emperor had made three proposals to the King of England, either that he should invade France in that direction, availing himself (not as a matter of right, but for his accommodation,) of the Imperial forces in Flanders, the Emperor on his part bearing the entire burden of the army in Italy destined for the attack on Provence; or, that they should divide the cost of the army of Italy, the quota of either party being estimated at 600,000 ducats.

If not, that they should unite for the undertaking against Guienne, for which the Emperor offered the King of England the 4,000 lansquenets now in Spain, together with other assistance, as already notified, on the authority of Jerningham, in his (Contarini's) letter of the 21st April.

The Chancellor also said that by letters from England it seemed the King was inclined to invade France in that direction. Thus the Signory will perceive the actual state of the Pope's negotiations for a truce.

Burgos, 18th May 1524.

[*Italian, 7 pages.*]

May 21. **826.** Marco Foscari to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 258.

The Archbishop of Capua [Schomberg], has written to the Pope, that the King of France told him he was willing to make the truce, and that his army had retired from the Milanese and come back in safety with its artillery, because the Switzers would not fight.

The Archbishop also writes that the English had apparently crossed over to France, and were under Terouenne, but the King of France had well garrisoned the place. The King is willing to make the truce for two years, and Madame, his mother, does everything for its stipulation. The Emperor would have one for five years. It seems that France wished to negotiate the truce in England through Cardinal Wolsey.

Rome, 21st May. *Registered by Sanuto, 25th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 23. **827.** Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 271, St. Mark's Library.

The Emperor has sent a gentleman of his chamber to England, for the purpose (Contarini understands) of persuading the King to cross over to France and to send troops thither; offering him his forces in Flanders, together with other assistance, for which however the King is to pay, though the Emperor promises that his army of Italy under the Duke of Bourbon shall cross the Alps and enter France, but without guaranteeing anything whatsoever.

A ship has arrived at Seville from the Indies with 40,000 gold pieces; the vessel comes from a land more to the westward than Yucatan, and which has been discovered lately.

Burgos, 23rd May 1524.

[*Italian, 2½ pages.*]

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May 25. **828.** The Archbishop of Capua.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 257. Note by Sanuto, that in private letters from Rome, dated the 21st, which he had seen, it was stated that the Imperialists there made great bonfires for the expulsion of the French from Italy; and the Archbishop of Capua wrote from Blois, in date of the 11th, that he had been to the Emperor in Spain, and was again returned to France, and would go to England. He is expected at Rome in the middle of June, as the Pope wishes to make a truce or peace between the powers, in order to attack the Turk.

[*Italian.*]

May 25. **829.** Marco Foscari to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 262. Has been told by Augustin Foieta that the news from England announced the intention of the King to give assistance against France, either by sending money for the camp in Italy or by crossing over to France with troops.

Rome, 25th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 28th May.*

[*Italian.*]

May 26. **830.** A Conspiracy in England.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 260. Arrival in Venice from England, on the 25th, of Hironimo da Molin. He quitted London on the 21st of April. Nothing whatever is said about war.

Note by Sanuto.—Certain gentlemen in England plotted together to seize a sum of money on its way to the King from ———; they were to raise the cry of "Liberty," and to incite the people to change the government, saying the present King taxed them too highly. They were discovered, the company consisting of upwards of 40 individuals; and some being captured, five noblemen of the party were quartered.

[*Italian.*]

May 29. **831.** Carlo Contarini, Venetian Ambassador at Milan, to the Signory.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 267. The King of England has written to the Duke of Bourbon to attend vigorously to the prosecution of the war in Italy, as he himself will not fail doing the like to his utmost over there.

Milan, 29th May. *Registered by Sanuto, 2nd June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 1. **832.** Gasparo Contarini to the Signory.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 273, St. Mark's Library. A courier from France announces the departure from the French court of the Archbishop of Capua for England on the 12th of May.

The Pope has written to the Emperor from Rome, in date of the 10th May, urging him to ponder the great preparations making by Sultan Solyman, and announcing that the Lutherans have summoned a council in a certain town in Germany, for the purpose of confuting the arguments adduced against Luther's tenets. This distresses the Pope greatly, and he earnestly requests the Emperor to apply a remedy, as such a demonstration is at variance with the edict issued by him at Worms [April 1521].

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The Emperor replied that he would take such steps as due, expressing himself in general terms without descending to any particulars.

Burgos, 1st June 1524.

[*Italian*, 2¼ *pages.*]

June 6. **833.** INVASION of FRANCE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 274.

The secretary of the Imperial ambassador came into the College and showed a letter, dated Stochar [Stutgard ?], 24th May, addressed to the ambassador, announcing the passage through that place of Richard Pace, late English ambassador in Venice, who is coming well provided with the "authentic" document to accelerate the march of Bourbon into France; that is to say, he is bringing with him the pecuniary supply. He also said that the "Most Christian King" would invade France in person, meaning the King of England, who gives himself the title of "Most Christian," because Pope Leo styled him "Defender of the Faith" for having composed a work against Luther.

[*Italian.*]

June 7. **834.** MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 280.

Has had conversations with the Pope about the Duke of Bourbon, who means to invade France, and to send the fleet from Genoa into Provence to capture Marseilles. The Duke of Bourbon will not depart until the English cross. The Emperor is raising troops for the attack on France, and this he does in order that the King of England may send an army.

Rome, 7th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 10. **835.** ANTONIO SURIAN and FRANCESCO FOSCARI, Governors of Brescia, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 282.

Dom. Richard Pace, ambassador from the King of England, arrived post at Brescia from England on his way to Rome, where he expects to meet the Emperor's Lord Chancellor, Gattinara. Pace dined at Brescia, and previously Surian went to visit him at the inn. Pace told Surian that his King would not give another ducat to the Emperor, having already given him 200,000 crowns. Pace is moreover of opinion that for this year his King will send neither troops nor anything else against France.

Brescia, 10th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 13th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 13. **836.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 274, St. Mark's Library.

On the 10th instant the Florentine ambassador received letters from the Archbishop of Capua, dated the 3rd, from Tours, where the King of France then was.

The letters were in cipher, and purport that after his departure from Burgos, on the 25th of April, Schomberg arrived at the French Court on the 2nd of May. He remained there until the 12th, and then proceeded towards England, where he landed on the 16th.

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On the 25th of May he was again at the Court of France and purposed departing thence for Rome on the 4th of June.

The Archbishop announces that the King of England has assented to the truce; and therefore Schomberg desires the Florentine ambassadors to urge the Emperor to do the like with all despatch.

The Imperial postmaster at Burgos has received letters from Lisbon dated the 8th instant. They purport that at the end of May some French vessels off Faro, in Portugal, near Cadiz, attacked the ship under the command of Beneto Zane, master, on board of which were said to be 4,000 pieces of kerseys; and the ship under the command of Zuane Francesco Giustinian, master, freighted with 3,000 pieces of kerseys. They captured the vessel commanded by Beneto Zane, and the Giustiniana ran ashore, but saved both crew and cargo, though the ship is lost. Some merchants of Seville have received similar intelligence by way of Seville. Prays God to comfort those who have encountered so great a disaster.

Burgos, 13th June 1524.

[*Italian*, 3½ *pages.*]

June [13 ?]. **837.** MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 288.

It is reported by letters from the Emperor's Court at Burgos that the Chancellor Gattinara had declined coming to Rome because he demanded very full powers, which were denied him; and if he went to Rome without ample authority, the ministers remaining in Spain would do many things against him; but he is sending Mons. de la Rochia.*

He also intends to send 3,000 lansquenets to Perpignan, that the King of England likewise may attack France; and he wrote to the Duke of Bourbon that after accomplishing the Italian expedition he was to go with the troops into France. The Chancellor also said that Pace, the English ambassador, was bringing 200,000 crowns into Italy. The Archbishop of Capua wrote in praise of the Emperor's liberality. He, the Archbishop, was going to England. The King of France consented to the truce, and told the Archbishop it would be well to arrange the affairs of the Milanese by marrying a relation of his [King Francis] to the Duke of Milan, giving him the duchy for dower. The Archbishop replied that first of all the truce should be stipulated. It seems that the King of France said that the Archbishop was a German poltroon. The Pope remarked to him (Foscari), "This King of France is proud, and in great want of money, for the term of payment of the money borrowed by him has arrived, so that should the Duke of Bourbon (with the party he has) invade France, the King of England and the Emperor making an attack in the other direction, he would doubtless be in a bad way."

Rome, ———. *Registered by Sanuto, 18th June.*

[*Italian.*]

* In "State Papers," vol. vi., part 5, p. 344, this Imperial minister is styled "Mons. de la Roche."

1524.
June 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 282.

838. RECEIPT of LETTERS from FLORENCE by MAFIO BERNARDO the Banker.

News there that the ship of 1,000 butts belonging to Zuan Zane and brothers, when on its homeward voyage from England, loaded with wool and tin for a great amount, was fallen in with off Cape St. Vincent's . . . . . by Frenchmen or . . . . . , and they captured it. They also gave chase to the galleon of Nicolò Semitecolo and Co., returning in like manner from England, and it ran aground and foundered in the direction of Portugal. By the loss of these two ships Venice has suffered great damage.

[*Italian.*]

June 14. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 290.

839. MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

The Pope told him he had letters from the Court in Spain dated the 24th of April. The King of England was going to send a certain amount of troops against France. The Pope had also received letters from the Archbishop of Capua, dated Montpellier the 11th, announcing his having been in England.

Rome, 13th and 14th June. *Registered by Sanuto, 19th June.*

[*Italian.*]

June 17. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 285.

840. LUTHERANS at STUTGARD.

Advices sent by the Marquis of Mantua to his ambassador at Venice, and read in the Senate.

The Archduke [Ferdinand] is there at Stutgard, and as the Lutheran sect is making greater progress than ever, he has caused two Lutherans to be burnt, one of whom was a preacher who preached that there is no longer a Christ (*che non era più Cristo*), as a new prophet was to come every 1,500 years, which period having now elapsed, another has appeared, namely, Martin Luther.

Note by Sanuto, that the "report" will perhaps be copied by him hereafter.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. pp. 289, 290.

841. REPORT of FRANCE made by GIOVANNI BADOER in the College.

Had been assured by the Archbishop of Capua, the Pope's ambassador, who had been in France, Spain and England, and was returning to Rome, that all three of the powers consented to the truce.

[*Italian.*]

June 19. Sanuto Diaries v. xxxvi. p. 302.

842. MARCO FOSCARI to the SIGNORY.

Announces the arrival of the Archbishop of Capua. He has ridden post to France, Spain, and England about the truce, and reports that the sovereigns are inclined to stipulate it and will send the commissions.

Rome, 19th June 1524. *Registered by Sanuto, 23rd June.*

[*Italian.*]

1524.
June 20.

843. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 275, St. Mark's Library.

Announces the receipt of letters from England, dated the 3rd instant, enclosing a minute of the conditions offered by the King to the Duke of Bourbon, in conformity with which he will assist him to return to France.

Transmits a copy of the articles,* which was given to him by the Duke of Milan's secretary, who said he had been commissioned by his master to communicate everything to him (Contarini), adding, that he had received the minute from the Milanese ambassador in London, and shown it to the Chancellor Gattinara, who corrected it in certain parts where there were mistakes.

The individuals sent by the Emperor to Badajos to confer with the Portuguese delegates about the dispute concerning the Spice Islands, have returned *re infectâ*. According to report the King of Portugal has sent a fleet to those parts, and it is likewise said that the Emperor is fitting out another for the same purpose. It is, therefore, feared they may come to a rupture, unless the King of Portugal marry the Emperor's sister [Katharine], concerning which marriage nothing has yet been settled.

Burgos, 20th June 1524.

[*Italian*, 3 *pages*.]

June 29.

844. LUTHERANISM in VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 315.

Today at St. Peter's in the Castle (the Cathedral), after vespers, the Partriarch being present, a priest delivered a Latin sermon against Martin Luther, some of whose works were afterwards burnt.

[*Italian*.]

June 30.

845. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 276, St. Mark's Library.

On becoming acquainted with the terms proposed by the King of England to the Duke of Bourbon, went to the Chancellor to ascertain the policy of the Imperial ministers in opposition to that of England.†

The Chancellor in reply to his enquiries respecting the preparations against France, and the probable proceedings of the English in that matter, said, "I indeed believe that on learning the Emperor's intentions, as announced to them by one of his gentlemen who has been sent over there, they likewise will invade France."

Knowing that the Chancellor dislikes Cardinal Wolsey, as he has often said so very plainly, to render him more communicative, rejoined, "The affair depends on the Cardinal's brain, which is constituted somewhat after a fashion of his own."

Gattinara then continued, "I tell you that, besides the brain, I believe his intention to be evil;‡ and it appears to me that he would ruin the universe to contrive that the Emperor may not seem superior to his King; and he is jealous because the English

* The Contarini letter book does not contain the transcript of the proposed agreement between Henry VIII. and the Duke of Bourbon.

† "La fantasia di costoro contra le cose di Anglia."

‡ "Io ve dico che oltra il cervello, io credo che l'habia mala intentione."

1524.

have done nothing, whereas the Emperor, both in Italy and Spain and previously in Flanders, has obtained many advantages over the French. Were this envy but legitimate, he would endeavour to surpass us by his own performance of greater feats; but to me it appears of an evil nature."

The Chancellor did not commit himself further. Thinks he meant to infer that for the sake of checking the progress of the Imperial army Wolsey proposed to the Duke of Bourbon such overbearing and iniquitous terms.*

The Chancellor informed him that Sampson complained because after the capture of Fonterabia, the Imperialists did not march to Bayonne, and moreover disbanded their army; although the English had returned from France some months previously.

The Chancellor also said, "I do not believe the thing can last, though the Emperor will never fail to keep faith in all that he has promised them."

After this, the Chancellor expatiated on the Emperor's firm resolve invariably to keep faith; saying that he would prefer losing all he possessed rather than fail one atom in his promises, either to the King of England or to the Duke of Bourbon; and that but for this his affairs with France would have been settled with a single word. This maxim of the Emperor's was in accordance, the Chancellor said, with the counsel he had always given him, and should continue to give, videlicet, never to break his word.

Greatly commended the sentiments thus professed by the Emperor and the counsel given by the Chancellor.

Burgos, 30th June 1524.

[*Italian*, 2 *pages*.]

July 6.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 277, St. Mark's Library.

846. GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Receipt at Burgos of letters from England dated the 19th of June.

According to report they purport that the King is preparing a powerful army for the invasion of France, and will take the command in person; so the Archduchess Margaret is mustering her Flemish forces, having made truce with the Duke of Guelders.

The gentleman sent by the Emperor to the King had not reached the Court, but the courier who brought these letters met him at a distance of 20 leagues from London.

Burgos, 6th July 1524.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages*.]

July 17.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 280, St. Mark's Library.

847. The SAME to the SAME.

Was informed yesterday that the ship "Zana," captured by the French, having reached Bajona, a port in Galicia, was subsequently taken by some Biscayan vessels.

Applied for its release to the Chancellor, who referred him to the Doctor Caravaial.

By the present courier, according to the Pope's request, the Em-

* "Quelle conditione cussi altere et inique."

1524. peror is sending very strong letters into Germany against the Lutherans.

Burgos, 17th July 1524.

[*Italian*, 4 *pages*.]

July 21. **848.** GASPARO CONTARINI to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 281, St. Mark's Library.

Applied to the Emperor for the release of the ship "Zana," and took with him the English ambassador [Richard Sampson], who is his friend, for the sake of obtaining more favour, as the ship was bound from England, the cargo likewise being English; persuading him, moreover, that the interests of his nation were concerned in the matter.

Having presented themselves together to the Emperor, he (Contarini) stated the case and was well seconded by Sampson, who said his King would be gratified by the restitution.

The Emperor replied that he was disposed to do the State every kindness, but that he (Contarini) knew the maritime code,* namely that when a ship has been for twenty-four hours in the hands of the enemy and is recaptured, it becomes the property of those who make the prize, and therefore he could not fail to do justice to these Biscayans, to whom, and not to himself, the ship belonged.

Then requested that the decision might be delayed until the receipt of an answer from Venice. The Emperor said he would consider the matter and give a reply.

Burgos, 21st July 1524.

Postscript dated Valladolid, 2nd August.

[*Italian*, 6 *pages*.]

July 27. **849.** VINCENZO GUIDOTO, Venetian Secretary in Hungary, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 376.

The King has issued a proclamation ordering all Luther's works to be burnt, and imposing a very heavy penalty on his followers; and this by reason of the fire which took place at Villach, because all those who were present at the fire were Lutherans; yet is Luther's faction very great in Germany.

Ofen, 27th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 17th August.*

[*Italian*.]

July 28. **850.** ADVICES from MANTUA.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 353.

The King of England was sending an army into France, and 200,000 ducats to the Duke of Bourbon to continue the undertaking.

[*Italian*.]

July 30. **851.** VINCENZO GUIDOTO, Venetian Secretary in Hungary, to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xxxvi. p. 370.

The bull conceding plenary indulgence has arrived here; and a friar who preached in Hungary in German has been silenced; but

* "Ma che io sapeva le lege del mar."

1524.

the Germans who hold to Luther are dissatisfied, and the Hungarians confess and communicate.

Ofen, 27th, 29th, and 30th July. *Registered by Sanuto, 11th August.*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 7.

Original Letter Book, Letter no. 283, St. Mark's Library.

852. GASPARO CONTARINI to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

In my letter of the 30th of June I mentioned what had been said by the Chancellor concerning the Emperor's dissatisfaction at the proceedings of the King of England, or rather of Cardinal Wolsey.

I have ridden the whole way from Burgos to Valladolid always in company with the Chancellor, some of whose remarks made in the course of the journey appear to indicate his present policy.

When I remarked that it would be desirable for the Emperor to marry, and inquired the age of the Princess of England, the Chancellor replied that she was but eight years old. I then alluded to the sister of the King of Portugal, as having declared that she would never marry anybody but the Emperor.*

The Chancellor rejoined, "She might possibly have him, although according to the prophecies† the Emperor is to become King of England by marriage; it might, however, befall him to espouse this Portuguese Princess in the first place, and then on her death to take the daughter of the King of England for his second wife."

I then exclaimed, "How can you at this moment abandon the Princess of England?"

The Chancellor continued, "The King of England might perhaps not keep his engagements, in which case we should be released from our obligations; moreover, in these negotiations for peace I know not how we shall manage with him, for he demands of the King of France as much territory as has been conquered by the Emperor, though I do not believe that France will grant it."

I cautiously hinted that although it would be desirable for the Christian commonwealth that some adjustment should be effected, yet everything ought to be done to retain England.

The Chancellor rejoined that it was requisite to make some agreement, which was requisite both for France and for the Emperor, and also by reason of the danger to be apprehended from Sultan Solyman. The Chancellor has talked constantly for many months of taking the Emperor to Italy, and then retiring to his own home in quiet.

Valladolid, 7th August 1524.

[*Italian, 2½ pages.*]

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* Isabella of Portugal took for her motto, "*Aut Cæsar aut nihil.*" See Navagero's report in Cicogna's illustrations of the church of San Martino di Murano, pp. 252, 312.

† Concerning the Chancellor's faith in prophecies, see Cicogna ut supra, p. 186. See also the prophecy concerning Charles V., sent from England to Venice in December 1519, in vol. ii. of this Calendar, no. 1301. A photograph of that document has been deposited in the library of the Record Office, and besides vouching for the authenticity of the prophecy, it is a specimen of Sanuto's handwriting.